

Trade in America

A
L E T T E R

TO

EDMUND BURKE, Esq;

Controverting the Principles of

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT,

Laid down in his lately published

S P E E C H

ON

AMERICAN TAXATION,

Delivered in the

HOUSE of COMMONS,

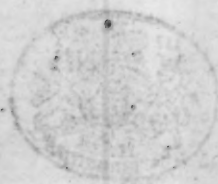
On the 19th of APRIL, 1774.

L O N D O N :

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M,DCC.LXXV.



ADVERTISEMENT.

" IT may not be improper to inform the pub-
 " lic that this letter was ready for the press
 " when Lord Chatham's conciliatory proposal
 " made its appearance. In hopes that some fea-
 " sible plan of accommodation with the colonies
 " would thereupon have taken place, and such
 " measures have ensued as might have made it
 " unnecessary for the advocates of American free-
 " dom any longer to have kept up in its full
 " force their contention against an overstrained
 " and unjustifiable authority, the author thought
 " proper to with-hold it awhile from the public
 " eye : but being totally disappointed in his wishes,
 " and now despairing that any good consequences
 " whatever can result from the measures deter-
 " mined to be pursued by government (notwith-
 " standing the late attempt of administration to
 " amuse us by making a shew of taking new
 " ground) he now humbly submits it to the pe-
 " rusal of his fellow-citizens ; in hopes that, small
 " as may be its comparative weight, it yet may
 " prove a mite not unacceptable in the scale which
 " the good genius of Britain and of British Ame-
 " rica is anxious should preponderate. In saying
 " that he despairs of any good consequences from
 " administration's pertinacious oppression of the
 " colonies, he begs to be understood as meaning
 " only *those good consequences which the authors of*
 " *the present measures esteem to be such, and which*
 " *they propose to bring about.*

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" Indeed

“ Indeed he hopes, *and will venture to prophecy,*
 “ that, odious and shocking as are the means by
 “ them to be made use of, yet the end will be
 “ the same as himself hath proposed to obtain by
 “ a very different way of proceeding; and that,
 “ take which course we will, the present dispute
 “ cannot possibly terminate in any thing short of
 “ American Independence. Whether it will prove
 “ better to have severed the colonies from this
 “ country by the hellish sword of war, or by the
 “ generous hand of equity; whether it will prove
 “ better to have inspired them with revenge and
 “ deadly hatred, or with gratitude and warm
 “ affection; and whether one or the other will
 “ prove most beneficial to us, time alone must
 “ finally determine.”

To E. B. Esq;

SIR,

February, 1775.

WHEN my twelfth letter to the Legislature, proposing the independency of America, went to the press (see Public Advertiser, Jan. 23, 24,) I thought I had taken a final leave of the subject; but several passages in your late published speech tending, as I fear, to mislead the public judgment, teach me that it lies too near my heart for me to suffer them to pass altogether unnoticed. It is the convincing argumentation with which you demonstrate the folly, as well as injustice, of taxing America; together with the persuasive powers of eloquence there displayed, powers which can sometimes charm us into a belief of what we do not comprehend, that make your error, with regard to the sovereignty of Great-Britain, the more dangerous at this crisis, when all good men are anxious for the rights of America, though few of them are free from your own mistake, and when even the dissipated triflers of the age have a wish at least, if not a thought, to bestow in their favour. The multitude in this kingdom, when they become serious, and take a thing up in earnest, are too formidable for a minister to contend with; but alas! they believe only as they are taught by some great authority: and even men of knowledge and reflection pay it sometimes too much respect. For my own part, Sir, I look up to you as to one of those "guide-posts and land-marks of state whose credit in the "nation" gives general currency to your opinions; I consider you as one of our great national "lights." I wish therefore, as a matter of the last importance to the public, that you may ever hold on your course with regularity and truth: and not, like the changeful "luminary*" you so happily describe, misguide your observers.

Believe

* Charles Townshend.

Believe me, Sir, I am not one of those who can, without a painful reluctance, withdraw my admiration from the glories of the sun, in order to contemplate his spots. But it is by an accurate observation of them, that we correct erroneous science; causing, as I may say, by these means, even the darkneses of that brilliant orb to throw light upon objects of importance to mankind. Had I a bad opinion of your heart, I would not make the vain attempt to argue you into the right; nor would I provoke you to exert your superior talents still more, in order to destroy the truth. 'Tis not as you are ingenious, but ingenuous, that I mean to dispute with you. Nor is it for me to take the large field of discussion; to lay open all history, or to unfold the legitimate laws of our constitution. I leave these deep and capacious reservoirs of knowledge and policy to be ransacked by those who are my superiors in learning and eloquence; and are better able to take a laborious part in the great cause we are now engaged in; contenting myself to draw from the fountain head, a small portion of the waters of truth; which, like a dew from heaven, have, I believe, the most kindly influence upon the production and growth of true wisdom. It is to the pure, the genuine principles of our perfect constitution, and the unalterable law of nature, that I will refer; it is to your reason and your conscience I will appeal. This will bring the question within a very small compass, and to a short issue. But be apprized, Sir, that it is not to any creature of your own imagination, an *ideal* "*constitution of the British Empire* [94.]," (for I totally deny its existence, and believe that a faith and hope in it lead to perdition,) which I now mean to refer to; but to the *constitution of Great-Britain*; whose existence, divinity, and powers of salvation, are known to us all. This is the *only* compass that ever proved a sure guide upon the tempestuous sea of politics. It is a *sure* guide, because it is a compass *without variation*. It points not to any earthly loadstone, jostled by some convulsion of nature out of the true axis of our crazy planet, but the cause of its magnetism is the rock of truth, fixed in the pole of heaven from all eternity; immoveable as the throne, immutable as the nature of God. He who shall imagine that the British constitution is a compass adapted only to

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one latitude and longitude ; and when he arrives with it at a distant shore, depending on delusive observations, shall *suppose* a very considerable variation ; and then, like the ignorant skipper of some little coasting bark, shall go about to adjust it, to the imaginary occasion, by giving the needle a corresponding deviation from its representative on the card, or rather chart ; shall soon find himself in a most dangerous, if not a fatal error. Happy if he make not shipwreck of the political vessel. Great knowledge and practical experience may be necessary to those who hold the command, who guide the helm, and direct all the manœuvres in the ship ; but *the very cabin-boy knows his compass* ; and when the port is in sight, and all the dangers of the navigation are above water and in view, *he can tell*, as well as the pilot, how to steer *for* the one or *from* the other. When out of sight of land, he knows equally well, that in order to arrive safe in America, he must steer to the Westward ; nor could all the sophistry of the pilot, though he spoke with the tongue of an angel, nor the authority of the captain, though aided by the logic of the cat-o'-nine-tails, ever convince him, that it would be possible to secure a prosperous voyage by steering either East, South, or North. So when the British constitution, whose form is so manifest to the eye of common sense, and whose principles by their self-evidency are so simple and so obvious, lies before us, 'tis in vain for ministers, for statesmen, or even for orators, to endeavour to impose upon our understandings, by representing that we must hold one course in Britain, and another in America, for attaining civil security and happiness ; when it is impossible to arrive at them, but by keeping the prow in a true direction for liberty, whose star, like as the rock of truth, is in the pole and fast by the throne of heaven. It is true indeed, and for the reasons you have [91] assigned, that the nearest course we can keep is but " an approximation towards the right " one ;" yet we shall run into a most ruinous error, if, to the *unavoidable* deviations caused by the intestine motion and tempestuous agitations of the political element, we make any *intentional* one, by playing tricks with our needle, and departing from that course which our compass, *if faithfully consulted*, shews to be the true one. You desire
Great-

Great-Britain to "be content to bind America by laws
 " of trade; because she hath *always* done it: and not to
 " burthen her with taxes, because she was not used to do
 " so *from the beginning*. These," you add, "are the
 " arguments of states and kingdoms." [89, 90.] But,
 with your leave, Sir, these are the arguments of Egyptian
 task-masters, of Carthaginian blood-suckers, of Roman
 monsters and Spanish tyrants; for silencing the murmurs
 of their fleeced, pardon me, I mean flead provinces and
 miserable bond-men. What! Sir; are prescripts and pre-
 cedents, be they natural or unnatural, be they good or
 bad, be they just or unjust; the proper arguments of states
 and kingdoms? So then, nothing is wanting to reconcile
 us to the most infernal way of governing, but that our
 tyrant hath always done so; that he was used to act the
 tyrant from the beginning!—Fie, fie! What a lesson
 for a young Telemachus to learn from the lips of his
 Mentor! "You may be as great a tyrant as you please,
 " provided you only establish your precedents in the begin-
 " ning." Should murmurs afterwards arise, or the accu-
 mulating weight of your power in length of time become so
 intolerable as to cause your *right* to be called in question;
 —"reason not at all—oppose the ancient policy and prac-
 " tice of the empire, as a rampart against the speculations
 " of innovators,—and you will stand on great, manly, and
 " sureground."—Excellent doctrine! O Locke, thou repu-
 ted sage, "hide thy diminished head!" What are all thy
refinements, [94] thy "*metaphysical distinctions* [89,]" to
 maxims such as these!—You expressly acknowledge,
 Sir, [41] that "you think the *commercial restraint* is full as
 " *hard a law for America to live under*, as the schemes of
 " American revenue: and, if *uncompensated*, to be a condi-
 " tion of as rigorous servitude as man can be subject to.
 " But America bore it from the fundamental act of navi-
 " gation until 1764—Why? Because," you add, "*men*
 " *do bear the inevitable constitution of their original nature*
 " *with all its infirmities*." Now, that I cannot attain
 knowledge without study, or happiness without wisdom;
 that I cannot preserve my health without exercise, or my
 freedom without courage; nor penetrate with my eye the
 opaqueness of a stone, or the complicated folds of my
 neigh-

* (94) "Refining speculatists,"

neighbours heart ; may possibly be all reckoned among the defects and infirmities of my " original nature : " — but that it is " the inevitable constitution " of any one man, or of any one nation, to submit to the tyranny of another, I must positively deny ; as the contrary hath been long since proved by the United Provinces, and lately by the law of England, in the case of a negroe slave when brought into this free country. Nor do I in the least doubt, but that America will very shortly give a convincing refutation to this curious proposition : which, Sir, if you will review it with candour, you may possibly perceive to be *much worse than a* " metaphysical distinction," or the " refinement of a speculatist ;" since it tends to *debase*, not to refine ; to *confound*, and not to distinguish. Is it for man, arrogantly to lord it over his brother, to impose upon him restraints and bonds, and then to aggravate his sufferings by the insult of a proffered *compensation* ! — a compensation, such alone, and such in degree, as he, the *impious imposer*, shall judge *expedient* for insuring his power and advancing his own interest ? If restraint and bonds, *even thus compensated*, be not rigorous servitude, I know not what is. 'Tis not the present *suffering under*, but the being *subject to*, the power of another, which *constitutes* slavery. Give us but the slavery, and the suffering will not fail to follow in due time. Now, Sir, from *the whole* of what you advance, with regard to *the supremacy of parliament over the legislatures of the several states of America* ; as well as from your express and repeated declarations of steadfastly abiding by *the minister and the system of 1766 **, when parliament, in its folly, assumed a right of repealing the irrevocable laws of God, by enacting, that his majesty in parliament, of right, had power to make white men black men ; to oblige the Antipodes to hear, see, and feel, by the senses of Englishmen ; and to transform millions of the human species, into calves and camels ; — or what is no less absurd (meaning the *right* not the fact) '*to bind the people of the American colonies by statutes in all cases whatsoever* ;' — I say, from the whole of these opinions and assertions, it is but too evident, Sir, that your political com-

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pafs,

* " I honestly and solemnly declare, I have in all seasons adhered to the system of 1766," pag. 96.

pass, how true and safe soever to steer by in Britain, hath lost its rectitude when removed to America. Correct it, Sir, I beseech you, ere it be too late ; because I fear that thousands will confide in it ; and probably the first peace-making minister, availing himself of this confidence, and the general error of the people, will steer by one adjusted to the same imaginary variation ; to the inevitable distress, if not, in the end, to the shipwreck of the state. Do not, Sir, imitate the modern ministerial *dignity*, of persisting in wrong ; nor the bed-ridden parental dotage, which talks of pap, of leading-strings, and the rod, for that child, which, did it but retain its senses, it might perceive to be in a state of manly vigour and independence ; parent himself of a numerous offspring, lord of a mighty household, and master of immense possessions ; and yet the filial, though not the slavish ; the voluntary, not the servile, prop of its declining age and decrepitude. Lay, then, Sir, your hand upon your heart, and answer me, or rather answer to God and to America, the three following plain questions : 1. Doth not the British constitution, and the law of nature, *which may in no wise be overturned by any human constitution whatsoever* *, (malgre all the qualifications, reservation, and subtle evasions that sophistry can devise) absolutely require that the people, those at least who are proprietors of, and are thereby permanently attached to, the soil, shall *actually share* in the powers of legislation ; by giving their consent either personally or by representatives of their own choosing, *to all laws* which are to be *the rules of their actions* :— Not only those of taxation, but those equally which *limit the exercise* of executive power, which *erect national tribunals*, and which establish any other regulation (be it even of their

* This law of nature, being co-eval with mankind and dictated by God himself, is of course superior in obligation to any other. It is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times : no human laws are of any validity, if contrary to this ; and such of them as are valid derive all their force, and all their authority, mediately or immediately, from this original.

their *foreign trade*,) that may affect their properties, their liberties, or their happiness in any particular:—And doth not the constitution, in requiring all this, as absolutely pronounce that, *where there is no such participation, no subjection is due?* 2. What share or participation in the powers of the British parliament is possessed by any American, *as an American?* 3. If no individual then, in America, by sharing in, be subject to, the powers of the British parliament; how can *all of them*, in their collective capacities as states and civil communities, be subject to this power? Surely that circumstance which sinketh an individual below the level of freedom, must equally debase a nation into a condition of slavery.—The “superintending power” of Great-Britain which [92] you propose her “to dispense, as from *the throne of heaven*,” perhaps I might not so strongly object to; could I be tolerably well assured, it would not in time degenerate (as human magisterial power uncontrouled *hath ever done* since the beginning of the world,) into a power that the Americans would rather suppose to be dispensed from the dark council of Pandemonium; or could I be certain that it was not equally to be dreaded, as *necessarily tending* to the destruction of *our own liberties*. But, presuming, Sir, you will not become her surety in that respect, since you very prudently tell the minister [10] “you can give no security,” that *the colonists* shall not rise in their demands, upon a *concession of justice* being made them, which you esteem it infamous to withhold; I can by no means agree with you to put into her hands this weighty sceptre, for “coercing the negligent, restraining the violent, and aiding the weak and deficient, by the over-ruling plenitude of her power;” especially since you tell me in plain terms, (not, I am sure, adverting to the blasphemous nature of the expression) “this power must be *boundless*;” [93] because I verily believe, that without the other *boundless* attributes and infinite perfections of *the Deity*, to whom *alone* boundless power belongs, to direct its operations, it would infallibly bruise the head of America, and crush her into a *Sardinian servitude* *. I hope, Sir, it

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* Farmer's Letters.

was not at the time when you were yourself connected with a very noble person at the head of the Treasury department [56] that you first affixed to the words *British Empire*, those magnificent ideas you give us of it, page 92, 93; nor that any hope or persuasion of mind that the system of 1766, together with its framers, shall one day be restored, which attaches you so firmly to it. I hope this, Sir, from the opinion I have of the goodness of your heart, and from my natural unwillingness to believe that the man, who, besides being an assiduous and distinguished labourer in the public cause, is no less the amiable example of virtuous privacy and the charm of domestic society, can ever become so egregiously sottish, as to cast away such happiness and true glory, for aught that Mammon or Lucifer hath to offer him. Unjust as the declaratory act of 1766 was in its principle, I know not, but at that period, it might have been quietly acquiesced in by the Americans, provided our taxing schemes had not been revived; but I cannot believe, even in that case, it could have operated so contrary to the nature of things, as to have preserved concord and mutual advantages to the two countries for any considerable length of time to come; except the assumption of this unlimited power had, like the splendid titular assumptions of a Chinese Emperor, been universally considered as *mere empty words without any meaning*, and Great-Britain had *totally abstained from the smallest attempt towards an exercise of it*. These being my sentiments, I cannot but look on the passing of such an act as a most unpardonable folly. Conscious as you seem to be [87, 90,] that *the discussion* of such a question had a direct tendency to destroy, even that degree of authority (and no small one) which the blind affection and superstitious reverence of the colonies for their mother country had established, by habit and undisputed precedents, from the beginning; had it not been wiser to have totally abstained from starting it at all; and to have invariably acted towards the colonies, as we should have done towards states that knew full well, and jealously maintained, their independency of us; but yet of whose fidelity towards us we were well assured, by an unexampled national attachment and union of interests, together

gether with all the influences of one common language, religion, and constitution ; the same manners, customs, and sentiments ? Had we thus, *in the year 1766*, sagaciously avoided "going into the distinction of rights, " and attempting to mark their boundaries [89] ;" (that is, on the part of the poor Americans ; for the rights of Great-Britain *we modestly declared to be boundless* ;) we had done well ; we had done wisely. It was your own minister, Mr. Burke, it was Lord Rockingham, and possibly, Sir, advised by yourself, who, in a more especial manner, brought into discussion these " metaphysical distinctions ;" who thus " intemperately, unwisely, fatally sophisticated and poisoned the very source of government," and attempted " to argue the colonies into slavery : " and that too, by what court reasoners seem to plume themselves upon as a very " subtle deduction, " from the unlimited and illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty ;" though in truth it is a dogma fit *only* to pass in the sublime Divan, or from the infallible lips of his holiness, towards Turkish and Italian toe-kissers and lickers of the dust ; whereas his lordship's doctrine of ' binding in all cases whatsoever,' was preached to an intelligent and free people, having legislatures of their own, and who owed *not the smallest obedience whatever* to such sovereignty. To suppose that king, lords, and the house of commons for the time being, conjointly have authority to do any wrong or injury to the rest of the state, is as ridiculous as to admit, that the *head* and *hand* may contrive and execute any mischief or mutilations upon the rest of the body. Nor, until some great christian casuist hath demonstrated suicide to be justifiable, shall we ever be brought to acquiesce in the absurd, though very solemn decision of the learned Judge Hale, and recited, with no small parade, as an indubitable authority by his more learned brother Blackstone, in his Com. p. 161. in order to prove that one's *hand* may plunge a dagger into one's *heart*, or one's *head* by the denying of nourishment, may starve one's *body* to death ; and for this wise and wonderful reason that the heart and the body cannot help themselves. — Here indeed my allusion fails me ; as their reasoning, had they recollected how many *supreme sovereigns* have been punished

punished for their "mis-government *," did them: and I trust that *the body* of the people of these free kingdoms, *the heart* and the rest of *the faithful members*, will either restrain or punish *that hand* or *that head* which shall ever conspire or attempt any thing against its life or well being. This *illimitability* may be an ingenious *law fiction*, and well calculated, as such, to answer certain useful purposes in dispatching the business of the law courts: but when offered to our understandings for a *fact*, it must be rejected with disdain as a *most abominable dogma*; either the legitimate child of ignorance or a cunning bastard of tyranny, but certainly the natural parent of slavery. I would therefore beg leave to propose, that in the next edition of your speech, there be made to every proposition stating "the illimitable nature of supreme sovereignty," the small addition of these three words, 'to do good,' by way of amendment; which, from a fallacy and a treasonable assertion, will convert it into a truth, and a constitutional maxim. Had these "subtle deductions," in favour of the "boundless power" of parliament, been the "metaphysical distinctions" you meant, p. 89, I should most heartily have accorded with you in "hating the very sound of them:" but when the enormous, the odious pretensions of the Declaratory Act, preceded and succeeded by a train of grievous oppressions under other administrations, had roused the unmindful colonists and their English friends to an exertion of their thinking faculties, in order to shew the just distinctions of the sacred rights of human nature, and to mark their boundaries, I should not have expected from any, but the sophistical advocates of tyranny, a condemnation of such a proceeding; as I esteem it a most generous task, and one of the most indubitable marks of genuine patriotism. Milton and Locke were respectively stigmatized, by the tools of despotism, as "refining speculatists;" and Sydney paid the forfeit of his blood for opposing, to the absurd and impious dogmas of Filmer, (the champion of *illimitable sovereignty and powers for-binding in all cases whatsoever*,) his "metaphysical distinctions:" but posterity hath done them all justice. Whatever might have been the prospects of
 advantage

* Comment. p. 161.

advantage in the year 1766, from establishing an unjust
 sovereignty over America, it is evident, that even then,
 the actual exercise of it would have been scarcely practica-
 ble with the most extreme caution and tenderness: but
 now, in the year 1775, after all that hath passed during
 nine irritating years to awaken the sleeping colonists, and
 to exasperate them to the last degree their patience is ca-
 pable of bearing; but *now*, I say, the attempt is a flight
 of madness not to be accounted for, but from an apprehen-
 sion that God sees it is high time to humble our pride,
 by leaving it to baffle its own vicious designs by its folly;
 or, for the sins of the nation, is pleased to suffer it, by in-
 fatuation, to cast itself headlong into destruction. America
 may now be considered, as an industrious and intelligent
 youth just arriving at man's estate; who, having chear-
 fully served a long *apprenticeship* under us, must now, *if*
not admitted into partnership, become our rival in trade.
 Like other juniors, *he will be content* to share the profits
 in a subordinate degree, proportioned to the inferiority of
 his capital and connections; but he will acknowledge no
 other dependence; he will no longer be our bond-servant.
 Too well doth he remember the hardships he hath suffered
 in our service, to enter into new indentures of servitude,
 now that his legal term is drawing towards its expiration.
 Indeed, had we been possessed of any portion of that wis-
 dom which belongeth to "the children of this world,"
 we might, for a long time to come, have kept him in
 ignorance of this secret; his indentures being in our own
 keeping, and he being easily satisfied with whatever in-
 terpretation of them we thought fit to make: until, swell-
 ing with the flatulent ideas of our own dignity and impor-
 tance; debauched and impoverished by luxury and extra-
 vagance; we imposed upon him too severe a drudgery,
 and began to starve and to scourge him rather too unmer-
 cifully. By this folly we have literally scourged him into
 a necessity of asserting his independency, for we have
 driven him, not only from his relaxations and play, but
 from his work; and forced him to deny himself even com-
 mon repose, in order to seek in the schools for forms of
 language, in which to express his sense of our ill usage,
 and the natural feelings of his soul, which taught him to
 know

know that there was something incompatible, between our treatment of him and what he was intitled to. Nor hath he sought in vain: but, supported in his own mind by a consciousness of his just rights, and justified by "the refinements" of those "speculatists," Locke, Milton, and Sydney: and by the "metaphysical distinctions" which the volume of nature hath unfolded to his own researches, he is now ready, Sir, in your own expressive words, to "cast your sovereignty in your face." Nay, the American is become both by precept and example your most faithful monitor, your best instructor, in the only possible means of preserving your own liberties; and of recovering from that state of corruption, of which the constitution is sick at heart; by maintaining his own rights on the undeniable principles of truth and justice; opposing tyranny with a manly temper, firmness and dignity; and, above all, by intrusting the guardianship of them to *unplaced, unpensioned, and uncorrupted delegates*. Doth it not behove us then, either as "children of this world," or as "children of light," no longer to injure or insult him with the exercise, or the claim, of any power incompatible with his absolute liberty, his perfect freedom? Your "subordinate liberty," take my word for it, (and I hope I am not a "refining speculatist," as I am certain I am no "factious demagogue,") will not now be thought by him, "enough for the ease and happiness of man;" [94] because the *reserved part* is to be withheld from him by injustice and force; and lodged in the very hands which do him this wrong; and therefore not very fit to be intrusted with so sacred a deposit. No, Sir, he will demand perfect freedom,—British freedom—that very freedom you yourself enjoy, and which alone is the legitimate issue of the *British constitution*: he will be content with nothing short of a *participation in that power which frames all the laws* he is to be subject to as the rule of his actions.—I beg pardon, Sir;—my zeal in the cause of America, and the irresistible impressions of justice on my mind, have carried me one step too far: for, such is the moderation of America, such her desire to "seek peace and ensue it," that she tells you, in her 4th Resolve in Congress, that "from the necessity of the case, and a regard to the mutual
" interests

gracious and benevolent dispensations of Providence towards a chosen people, which, though a present calamity, is nevertheless, according to the established order of things, a necessary one; and productive of great, solid and lasting blessings in future. Such is the imperfection of our nature, that for the most part, and nationally considered, we are incapable of understanding, of valuing or enjoying, any state of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, that hath not been preceded by one of adversity; by a comparison with which we can estimate its felicities. In order to enjoy, we must not merely *possess*: but it is requisite that our minds, by activity and exercise, perceive all the *causes, connections, relations and dependencies* of that which we possess; the noble faculties of our souls must be called forth by *trials, hardships, and struggles; losses, disappointments and dangers*, together with every species of discipline which, in this state of probation, is necessary to the perfecting of virtue. Had not God, in his paternal anger, permitted this chosen nation to have been visited by the detested race of Stewarts and a long afflicting civil war; 'tis certain the succeeding chain of events had not taken place: and 'tis more than probable, that the seeds of dissolution which lay lurking in the bowels of the state before their advancement to the throne, had they been nourished by an uninterrupted calm and the treacherous sunshine of apparent prosperity, would long since have spread their poison to the immediate sources of life, and destroyed the constitution. But it was *that dreadful night of tempest and darkness, that season of severe adversity*, which roused the genius and spirit of the nation; and to which we were indebted for the succeeding beauty and vigour of the constitution, by purging off the greater part of those foul impurities and seeds of death. Heaven grant that its now fading bloom and failing strength, those sure symptoms of inward disease, may be again restored ere it be too late!

—It was, I say, during *the very term* of that visitation of God's anger, that he was providing for the future unparalleled felicities of this nation; and literally causing good to grow out of evil, by raising up within that period those great and excellent men, who, feeling the feverish and alarming state of the times, contemplating the scene

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around them, and steering by the compass of the *British* constitution, have by their writings done more service to the cause of liberty and the rights of mankind, than ever had been done before by all the boasted patriots of Greece and Rome, together with those of every other nation in the world collectively.—As those unhappy times produced *Sydneys*, *Lockes* and *Miltons*; so we find the present, daily bringing forth *Shipleys*, *Dickensons*, and many other “truly noble, honourable, and patriotic advocates of civil and religious liberty, who generously and powerfully espouse and defend the cause of America, both in and out of parliament *.” I do not therefore repine at the distressful contest which hath so long existed between these kingdoms and the colonies, since by God’s mercy it hath as yet been bloodless; and since, still relying on the goodness of his Providence, I trust it will terminate in adjusting their true, their natural and most beneficial relation to each other, which is that of *an independent friendship and alliance*; in perpetuating their harmony; and in radically curing those latent distempers, which might otherwise have proved fatal to the liberties of both. Such I think no man of foresight can doubt would have been the sad event, had either the supineness of America, or the cunning moderation of the ministers of Great-Britain, kept her in what you call [87] “her old, her strong, her tenable position,” long enough to have fixt her immoveably on that “sure ground,” on whose solid basis her machines once fixed, she might, as you inform her, “have drawn worlds towards her.” But worlds, Sir, are not to be drawn towards each other, or fettered with chains and unnatural bonds, but to their mutual destruction. Their general well-being; and the benefits reciprocally to be derived, from light and genial warmth reflected on each other respectively, are only to be preserved by their keeping their appointed distances, by moving each in its own orbit, and by being kept from flying off from their centers into chaos, by the sweet influences of *attraction*, that best, that universal, that stupendous law of nature, by which the material, the moral and the divine worlds are all upheld and preserved in harmony. Trusting, as I say, that

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* Concluding resolve of the congress.

our present contest will finally terminate in the independency of America, and stop us short in the mad career of dominion; that it will teach us to know that any *imperial* possession * beyond the British seas, except a few scattered islands, factories and forts for the ends of trade, would ever be a mill-stone at the neck of the constitution; in as much as it would encumber it with extrinsical powers it *could not manage*, or exert but in a way *inimicable to internal health*; and as it would most obviously add enormous weight to court influence; against which, the other balancing powers are already little more than a feather; as the unavailing wisdom and eloquence of yourself and others, in both houses of parliament, must long since have convinced you; I cannot but congratulate with my country on the *very error of Mr. Grenville*, which hath been thought so prolifick of mischief, and kiss with reverence the rod of our chastisement. A Hercules with many bodies under one head, would have been an impotent, unwieldy monster; not an invincible hero and demi-god: — it would have been a more preposterous fiction, than that of the hydra with many heads to one body. But a monster with a multitude of bodies, *all of which* except one are *feigned to be three thousand miles from its head*, was a monster reserved for an abortive conception in the wild imagination of modern policy in its delirious reveries. Believe me, Sir, there is no sterling sense in the words, "*British Empire*," when signifying *unbounded* dominion with *unbounded* power over the immeasurable space of the North American Continent; and that, so applied, they are no better than 'sounding brags or a tinkling 'symbal,' to charm a proud, deluded nation to its ruin. In the warmth of a senatorial debate, and the rapid flow of your imagination, which resembles the Amazonian torrent, the collected force of ten thousand streams, breaking irresistibly a glorious inroad through the frontier of the vast Atlantic, and scornfully beating back his embattled waves, it might indeed have been allowed you to have crayoned out for Great-Britain a fanciful "*imperial* *col-
-racter*"; in which, as from the throne of heaven, she
" should superintend all the several inferior legislatures
" of

* American Independence, p. 23.

“ of America ; guiding and controlling, without annihi-
 “ lating any ;—coercing the negligent, restraining the
 “ violent, and aiding the weak and deficient, by the
 “ over-ruling plenitude of her *boundless* power ; and when
 “ her requisitions were not implicitly obeyed, saying to
 “ the delinquents,—tax yourselves for the common sup-
 “ ply, or *parliament will do it for you ;*” [92]—all this,
 I say, as well as to pass by “ nice distinctions,” and to
 trespass a little on the “ boundaries of right,” might
 have been very allowable, while flying before the wind
 on the flood-tide of eloquence, and by way of declama-
 tion ; but when you coolly, and deliberately, sat down
 to *write* for the instruction of the public ; when it was
 of the last importance not to give currency to any opi-
 nions ; not to excite any vain, proud, ambitious and mis-
 guiding passions in the people ; nor to afford any counte-
 nance for the ministerial tyranny you profess to oppose ;
 and which is all supported on *the very principle you admit*,
 and, *if it be admitted*, is clearly *justifiable*, since *legal au-*
thority with boundless power, if indeed it may be suppli-
 cated, may in no wise be withstood :—when, I say you
 acted with this deliberation, surely, Sir, you ought to
 have omitted, in your transcript all such erroneous, falla-
 cious and fatal doctrines !

That the “ imperial *rights* of Great-Britain as stated
 “ in the declaratory act of 1766, and the privileges which
 “ the colonists ought to enjoy are just the most recon-
 “ cileable things in the world,” you tell us indeed in so
 many words [92] ; and indeed, Sir, to do you justice,
 you also, by the aid of your *heavenly* allusion, reconcile
 them very glibly to your own imagination, and, I have
 no doubt, to the entire satisfaction of administration.
 While Lewis the XIVth was intoxicated with the drunken
 fancy of universal monarchy, his courtiers did not fail
 to satisfy him that “ the *imperial rights*” of France and
 “ the privileges which the dependent states of Europe
 “ *ought to enjoy* (wondrous condescension!) were just the
 “ most reconcilable things in the world :” and that he had
 an undoubted right, clear as that two and two make
 four, “ to superintend, to guide, and control them, as
 “ from the throne of heaven ;” though they humbly
 hoped

hoped his *divine* Majesty would not in his displeasure "annihilate any of them." Yet, Sir, there unluckily remains one omission, one small defect in your argument, which the "refining speculatist" and the "metaphysician," nay I fear even *the dull American*, will never be able to get over:—you have forgot the *proof* of your proposition; you have totally omitted the *legality*, the *moral rectitude* of your well-sounding proposal. These are considerations, trifling enough, God knows, in the opinions of some statesmen; but they are nevertheless by a free people, thought *absolutely necessary* to be attended to, before obedience and authority can be reconciled. Thanks, Sir, to the native honesty of your heart, which, though it incautiously suffered you to pronounce the aforesaid words, "imperial rights of Great-Britain," hath kept you uniformly from attempting to *explain* them; or in any than this and other equivalent and synonymous expressions throughout your whole speech, from so much as *hinting* at their existence: nay you have given hints, and broad ones too, that she *hath not* these rights, if her title-deeds come to be well perused and examined into; or why should she have any reason to "apprehend" that any "metaphysical process" whatever, could "argue her out of her whole authority?" [87] Why admonish her to "reason not at all?"—to oppose "*policy and practice to truth and justice*?"—Besides, you remark [87, 88.] that "the distinction of *internal and external duties*," or taxes, "is as nothing with regard to *right*;" in which, Sir, you say most justly; and perfectly agree with me when I assert that, "to acknowledge their independency, and to form with them a friendly league, is therefore the only method, *on the principles of equity*, of laying them under restrictions in trade and manufactures, for the exclusive advantage of their protectors; but continuing to impose these restrictions by *our own authority*, and by *force*, as it deeply affects them in their property, by *preventing money coming into their pockets*, (which is very nearly allied, when done unjustly, to *taking it out of their pockets without their consent*) is undoubtedly tyrannical*." And, again; [89] interrogating the minister,

* American Independence, p. 77.

nister, you say—"Do you mean to tax America, and
 "to draw a productive revenue from thence? If you do;
 "speak out:—If you *murder*—rob! If you *kill*; take
 "possession: and do not appear in the character of,
 "madmen as well as *assassins*." Here again, Sir, I in-
 tirely agree with you, that taxing where no revenue is to
 be got, is *madness*; that taxing those who are unrepres-
 ented, is *robbing*; and that they who assume legislative
 authority where there is no right, are *murderers* and
assassins; if it be true that whosoever looketh on a woman
 to lust after her, is indeed an *adulterer*; as upon divine
 authority we are informed he is; (*Matt. iv. 28.*) and
 moreover, that to claim a "*boundless power*," is a pre-
 sumptuous invasion, an impious usurpation on the prerog-
 ative of *the Omnipotent*. Thanks, once more, to "the
 "abundance of your heart out of which your mouth
 "speaketh," for these honest acknowledgments, that
 Great-Britain, *on your own principles*, and *according to*
your own system of 1766, is at present no better than a
murderous assassin. You may see then, Sir, clearly enough,
 "what is to become of the declaratory act asserting the
 "entireness of British legislative authority." [92] It
 ought to be sacrificed to justice, wisdom, and concord.
 As for those men who are at once base enough to assert
 in direct terms, and silly enough to attempt to demon-
 strate, that subjection and tyranny are not only reconcil-
 able but right; to offer them conviction would be casting
 pearls before swine; or I would beg leave, in order to
 save them the trouble of turning over the folios of the
 Sydney of the last century, to refer them to three letters of
 his more concise name-sake, which I read, with infinite
 pleasure and the highest esteem for the honest author, in the
 Gazetteer of *Jan. the 5th and 26th*, and *Feb. 23d*: but,
 Sir, to your attentive perusal I will recommend them; and
 request you also to review once more what myself, the feeblest
 advocate in the cause of liberty, and others have advanced
 in favour of American Independence;—or rather, Sir, with
 candour and uprightness consult your own very superior
 understanding and feeling heart. Your serious reflec-
 tion, Sir, must convince you of your error: and that
 all your arguments, without exception, in favour of
 Great-

Great-Britain's sovereignty, are nothing better than a flimsy string of sophisms—a mere rhetorical rope of sand which, not to fear that it might dissolve like a morning vapour as you stretched it across the wide Atlantic, would assuredly prove no more powerful, nor fit to “*bind America in all cases whatsoever,*” than the well-twisted wreath ascending from the profound politician's solemn pipe. And would you, Sir, if it were possible, by contributing towards the foundations of such a power, “stand answerable to God for embracing a system that tends to the destruction of some of the very best and fairest of his works?” [96.]

Reflect then, Sir, for heaven's sake!—and be consistent in your pleadings for the colonists. When there shall no longer appear in your politicks any leaven of *subordination* to four their “liberty;” any reservations whatever of imperial rights, in diminution of the privileges of nature; any sophistical arguments concerning requisitions, which, in spite of every plausible pretext, involve in them the claims of an inadmissible arbitrary power; or any unjust, because *imposed*, restrictions on their freedom;—but you shall become, Sir, their generous advocate, and demand for them a truly British liberty, that liberty which you yourself enjoy; then, Sir, you will be their friend indeed; then, Sir, every good man will give you praise; and I will venture to foretel that your eloquence, thus breathing pure truth, wisdom and patriotism, will then be attended with the powers of persuasion, and obtain a sure ascendancy over many minds that are now unmoved by it. It will no longer be stopped by the closing valves of suspicion, and held back as a tuneful song to please the ear; but will be allowed a free passage to the heart, and received there as a cordial, invigorating balm; congenial with all its generous feelings, its noblest emotions, its dearest hopes. How shall you see to remove the beam from the ministerial eye, without first at least plucking out the *mote* from your own!—I conjure you then, Sir; you, who are not wont to deal in sophistry, or to elude the force of truth by subtlety, subterfuge, or wilful deafness; you, whose penetrating genius hath enlarged the bounds of true

true science ; whose luminous eloquence is dreaded as the detector of falsehood and the certain foe of all dishonest darkness ; you, who have greatly distinguished yourself as a friend to the British constitution ; you, who are not amongst the wise ones who wear morality as a cloak, nor the wits who scoff at religion and all its sacred obligations ; you, Sir, I conjure by all these considerations, to reflect seriously on what, with the honest freedom which becomes every man who hath the public good at heart, I have pointed out to you ; and then obey the truth-speaking dictates of that monitor which God hath given you for your moral guide. I want you not, Sir, to break through your attachment to Lord Rockingham ; or to dissolve any honourable connection that may enable you to serve your country the more effectually. But let it be apparent that it is your country, and not a party, you mean to serve ; that you are truly and wholly actuated by public spirit, and not by private interest. Flatter no man's weakness ; defend no man's errors ; minister to no man's ambition, at your country's expence. Lay aside every party prejudice, and every ill-founded system ; especially that which gave birth to the tyrannical and absurd declaratory act of 1766. Prove yourself, by purity of principle and consistency of conduct, to be unbiassed, uninfluenced and independent : and leave us not to lament that faction and corruption are at the bottom of every pretence of serving the deserted and deluded public ; and to repeat, with a melancholy, a mournful emphasis ; " Cæsar hath friends ; and Pompey hath friends : but none are friends to Rome."

I have repeatedly denied the legality, as we all deny the expediency, of the late and present British system of American government : and the fields of allusion are well-nigh exhausted in order to illustrate these truths. There are however a few allusions more, which, if they have been made use of, I do not remember to have observed. But before I proceed to them, let me remark, that when we speak of Great-Britain and America as *mother* and *daughter*, it is rather a delusion than an allusion as it tends to obscure, not to illustrate their real relation to each other. For 'tis not the *country* of the new world,

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brought as it were into existence by late discovery, the inanimate *earth*, the *trees*, the *flocks* and *stones*, which in old England are the objects of our thoughts when we dispute about the government of it; but it is the *people*, the inhabitants of that new world, which are, or ought to be, the objects concerning which we reason. Now it is evident that the present generation in this same old England, can with no propriety be esteemed the parents of the present generation in America; and therefore are not intitled, on that plea, to any authority over them. It is evident also, that their true relation by blood, is the same as that of two descendants from the same family stock; whose respective progenitors long since separated, and branched into two distinct families. We may therefore with the strictest propriety, and with a clear illustration of the principles I maintain, consider Great-Britain (the *nation*, not the country; the *people*, not the soil;) as the male descendant, representative, and heir, of the elder, while we regard America as the blooming heiress, of the younger branch. How lovely, how desirable an object of enjoyment to Great-Britain, let every one judge! But shall he, like an Eastern despot, doom her to a splendid wretchedness in his seraglio; never more to hold a social commerce with any but her hated lord; nor to taste the sweets, the pure delights of liberty; and though mocked with the soothing title of Sultana, knowing too well she is no better than the slave of his lustful appetites? Or, like a still worse Barbarian, a very banditti ruffian, unmoved at her tears and intreaties, and deaf to her cries, shall he brutishly think to strike her to the earth, and while deprived of the powers of resistance, to become her impious ravisher? But let him not forget, that she hath a noble and indignant soul; and that the poignard, with which she hath been taught to arm herself, was he to make the foul attempt, might possibly, in the moment of her despair, be plunged with a deep and deadly stab into his guilty heart, and preserve her honour unviolated.—No!—"Better counsels shall guide him."—Recovering from the state of inebriation, in which the base sycophants who fed his pride, and the vile pandars of his unlawful pleasures, had artfully kept
this

this noble youth, for their own wicked purposes; and with a stern, majestic countenance, commanding them from his presence; he shall view with his own eyes the lovely virgin; and recollecting their mutual tenderness from earliest infancy, and the inseparable nature of their interests; acknowledging her native charms, and all her intrinsic worth; his fierceness in a moment shall melt into fondness; when, leaving her to her just liberty and rightful independency, he shall court her to his embrace with a manly and generous frankness; with sincere love, honour and respect: while she, wiping away the last falling tear, and giving to the winds all the anxieties with which his lately estranged affections had filled her aching bosom, all her present suspicions, all her future fears and apprehensions, shall, with angelic loveliness and heart-felt rapture, fly into his protecting arms; when instantly the sacred hymeneal rites and plighted vows shall seal between them an indissoluble union. An union agreeable to nature, to justice, and to freedom; and surely the fittest that can be imagined for promoting their mutual interests! The nuptial contract, with the *voluntary consent* of America; and not a *British statute*, doing violence to justice and her inclinations must be the Declaratory Act to limit their reciprocal duties, and the respective degrees of control and subordination necessary between them. But though I propose that America shall become the *wife* of Great-Britain, be it remembered, that I do not mean she shall therefore *obey* his arbitrary will, nor that he shall have a direct power to *rule over her*: because she hath hitherto always behaved towards him as an affectionate kinswoman, rendering him every good office in her power; and because she cannot yet, the nuptials not being solemnized, have forfeited that natural independency which God hath given her, by listening to the suggestions of the devil, and causing her husband's ruin, as Eve did that of Adam; and for which alone it was, that she was made subject to his will, by the *curse* of obedience. America therefore, *not* being subject to this curse, will be entitled to all the benefits of marriage at its original institution; when God in his bounty bestowed "the dominion and property in and

“ over the fish of the sea, the fowl of the air, and every
 “ thing on the face of the earth upon *husband and wife*
 “ *jointly*,” Gen. i. 28, 29. Nor, prior to the curse,
 did he make any distinction between them, but what he
 hath also made between Great-Britain and America.
 The former was prior in existence, and hath superior
 wisdom and strength; not for the purpose of tyrannic
 rule, but of guidance and protection: the latter is “ an
 “ help meet for him;” not in the abject condition of a
 slave, but in that of a loving, respectful, and prudent
 wife, a faithful friend, a social companion. And herein
 are laid, by the laws of nature, the true foundations for
 all the superior influence and control that is proper or
 desirable for the husband; and in which America, as a
 dutiful and faithful wife, will ever acquiesce with plea-
 sure. Let Great-Britain then say; “ This is now bone
 “ of my bones, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be
 “ called *British America*, because she was taken out of
 “ *Britain*: and therefore I will leave father and mother,
 “ and will cleave unto my wife; and we will be one
 “ flesh,” Gen. ii. 23, 24. As you so frequently, Sir,
 resort to holy writ, as to the genuine source of the *sub-*
lime and beautiful, you will not, I flatter myself, be dis-
 pleased with these references to it; nor to the following
 quotation, with which I shall close this letter: nor will
 the very singular, and most remarkable aptness with
 which it may be applied to *British America*, of whom,
 as the wife of Great-Britain, it might well pass for a
 prophecy, be lost upon you. “ Who can find a vir-
 “ tuous woman? for her price is far above rubies (a).
 “ The heart of her husband doth safely trust in her;
 “ so that he shall have no need of spoil (b). She will
 “ do him good and not evil all the days of his life.
 “ She seeketh wool and flax, and worketh willingly
 “ with her hands. She is like the merchant-ships; she
 “ bringeth

(a) As British America is in value far above Spanish and Portuguese America, abounding with precious stones and metals.

(b) We had better cultivate our laborious North American commerce, than debauch and corrupt ourselves with the spoils of the East.

" bringeth her food from afar. She riseth also while it
 " is yet night, and giveth meat to her household and a
 " portion to her maidens. She considereth a field and
 " buyeth it: with the fruit of her hands she planteth
 " a vineyard (c). She girdeth her loins with strength,
 " and strengtheneth her arms (d). She perceiveth that
 " her merchandize is good (e): her candle goeth not
 " out by night. She layeth her hands to the spindle,
 " and her hands hold the distaff. She stretcheth out
 " her hand to the poor; yea, she reacheth forth her
 " hands to the needy (f). She is not afraid of the
 " snow for her household; for all her household are
 " clothed with double garments (g). She maketh her-
 " self coverings of tapestry; her clothing is silk (h) and
 " purple. Her husband is known in the gates, when
 " he sitteth among the elders of the land. She maketh
 " fine linen, and selleth it; and delivereth girdles (i)
 " unto the merchant. Strength and honour are her
 " clothing; and she shall rejoice in time to come. She
 " openeth her mouth with wisdom, and in her tongue
 " is the law of kindness (k). She looketh well to the
 " ways of her household (l); and eateth not the bread
 " of idleness. Her children arise up and call her blessed;
 " her husband also, and he praiseth her. Many daugh-
 " ters have done virtuously (m), and have gotten riches;
 " but thou excellest them all," *Prov. xxxi.*

It

(c) The cultivation of vines hath been attended to for some years in North America.

(d) Her militia is numerous and well disciplined.

(e) The non-importation agreements shew this.

(f) She feedeth and cloatheth thousands of our poor manufacturers.

(g) See the margin to the text.

(h) The southern provinces of Georgia and the Carolinas produce fine silk.

(i) Belts of wampum.

(k) Journal of the Proceedings of the Congress.

(l) She has not a court-kalendar quite so well filled with the names of placemen and pensioners as Great-Britain.

(m) See the margin to the text.

(30)

It is with great respect, and a sincere desire that you may both merit and attain the name of patriot, that greatest of all earthly appellations, regal and imperial titles not excepted, that I subscribe myself,

S I R,

Your obedient Servant,

CONSTITUTIO.



POSTSCRIPT.

April, 1775.

ALTHOUGH the foregoing parts of this work were all written with an earnest desire to serve the public, yet they have not been published with an expectation of their being either well received or much attended to, by those to whom they were immediately addressed :—until matters between Great-Britain and her colonies should, through the rashness of our counsels, be brought to extremities ; and that, no longer having choice in our power, we should be reduced to act from necessity alone. Perhaps there hath seldom been a cause less popular in this country, nor one that ought to have been more so, than that which the writer hath endeavoured to plead. That our colonies have a right to be independent, is a conclusion which I am well persuaded must inevitably result from the question ; whenever discussed with temper and patience, and with a liberal, candid and honest turn of mind. Of the truth of this observation I can aver, in the most solemn manner, that I have had personal experience ; and that too, in instances where the persons entered into the enquiry under the common prejudices of Britons in favour of the British sovereignty over them. It was once my own prejudice. Like the rest of my countrymen not immediately concerned in the government, I had never reflected deeply on the subject ; nor indeed had the new matter with which it abounded, been ever treated of and committed to books. But the cries of America pierced my ears, and her complaints sunk into my heart. I was moved, and I determined to try the cause of this

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appellant

appellant in my own breast. I found it a good one, and that she was really much aggrieved. The respondent denied not the facts; but attempted to justify them. To this end he produced a large collection of charters, statutes and precedents, as the authorities upon which he had acted. ‘Don’t these,’ says he, ‘remove every doubt? Don’t they prove that I have a right to impose according to my sovereign will and pleasure, burthens and servises, restraints and regulations upon this discontented ungrateful wretch? That I have a power in short “to bind her in all cases whatsoever *?”—And bind her I will.—Is not this law? and is not law justice?—Can any thing be plainer?’—‘Alas,’ replied she, ‘those are the laws of *your* country, not of *mine*. My legislators had no share in making them. And those bonds which you produce against me I never signed: how then, *in any case*, can they bind me? Much less can they bind me in all cases whatsoever.—These very writings, putting in force against me all my wrongs, are what I have most reason to complain of. They were all dictated, and signed and sealed by *you alone*: how then can they constitute a reciprocal engagement between us? How can the sole act of one party lay another under an obligation? And besides, I have from time to time, as my sufferings or my apprehensions prompted me, and in the most humble manner, pleaded, petitioned, appealed and remonstrated against their unkindness, severity, injustice and cruelty; but all to no purpose. And they are now become so abominably tyrannical, so totally devoid of humanity, that they are absolutely intolerable: and rather than degrade myself below the dignity of my nature by submitting to them, I am reduced to the necessity of open resistance †:—and I must add too,

‘ that

* Declaratory Act.

† Mr. Bull, in his speech on the third reading of the American Restraining Bill, as printed in the Public Ledger of the 7th of April, 1775, says as follows:

“ Mr. SPEAKER,

“ I shall take up but very little of the time of the house; I will only mention some *facts* relating to one very important article,

article,



‘ that I am determined to endure, even unto death, rather than shamefully submit to wear the chains intended
‘ me.

article, because it has been the occasion of the unhappy disputes with, and the violent persecution of, the Americans. I mean the article of *tea*.

“ At the time the East-India Company had in contemplation the sending a quantity of tea to different parts of Europe as well as to America, and to apply to parliament for an act for that purpose, I had the honour to be called upon for my opinion of the measure by a very respectable person in the direction of the East-India Company, whose name I am ready to mention, if called upon by the house.

“ My opinion then was, and I still think it not ill-founded, that the scheme was so extravagantly wild, that it was impossible it should ever be carried into execution ; but if it could, it would *injure*, not benefit, the company, as they could not send their tea to any market where it would bring so good a price as at home. Besides, it would be an act of great injustice to the merchants here, who have always been used to buy for exportation at their sales. As to sending tea to America, from a knowledge of their disposition, the gentleman was informed they would not receive it ; they would look upon it as sent there, not to *serve* them but to ensnare them ; they would be exceedingly irritated ; they would most certainly destroy it.”

Then after going through a very perspicuous and satisfactory detail, in order to prove his positions, he thus concludes :

“ I will not trouble the house with any observations on these *facts* ; but I own I cannot be brought to believe that the tea was sent to Boston to raise money for the company, to get rid of their load of tea, or to prevent smuggling, because each of those salutary ends might have been answered without injustice, or offence to any individual.

“ The purpose for which the tea was sent to America, and the consequences, are evident now to every man’s understanding.

“ For these reasons, amongst others very forcible and important, which have been mentioned in this house, I hitherto *have*, and shall *continue*, to the utmost of my power, to *support* the *Americans*, thus *injured* and *oppressed* by the cruel and vindictive measures of an administration, whose whole conduct breathes the spirit of—*persecution* and *popery*.”

See also the notes to the ninth Letter, justifying the destruction of the tea at Boston.

* me.—But it is with reluctance and with grief of heart
 * I utter this declaration. 'Tis an overflowing of anxiety
 * and anguish of soul. 'Tis not the language of revenge ;
 * for in spite of your injustice and barbarity, I cannot but
 * recollect with fondness the time when, as kinsfolks and
 * friends we were united by the closest, the strictest and
 * most delightful ties of love and mutual benefits. My
 * heart bleeds at the recollection ; and at this moment I
 * would submit to any hardship* or restraint short of the
 * base condition of a slave, in order to be reconciled to
 * my mistaken and hard hearted persecutor, and to be
 * restored to his once-friendly arms.' ' This is all mighty
 * well,' rejoins the respondent ; ' but I thought thou hadst
 * known me better than to think of talking me out of my
 * purpose. I have shewn thee the law : I have told thee my
 * right.—I will have the whole of it : I will not abate an
 * iota.—Silence then to thy saucy tongue ! I equally de-
 * spise thy flatteries and thy threats. Is it not written in
 * the law, that, " of right I have power to bind thee ?"
 * I have bound thee " from the beginning * ;" and I will
 * bind thee still. In contempt of thy vain struggles, I
 * tell thee, ingrate ! " I will have my bond † ;" or thy
 * blood shall pay the forfeit.' —But a little patience, and
 temper, good Sir, said I : ought you not first to *prove the*
right you had to make such a law, before you plead its autho-
 rity ? It would be greatly for the advantage of your cause,
 would you but condescend to *demonstrate this single propo-*
sition by fair argument. Nay indeed, such a demonstra-
 tion would at once determine the cause in your favour.—
 ' What ! exclaims the lordly respondent, prove, argue
 * and demonstrate ! My honour, my dignity forbid !—
 * No—that nonsense is the frivolous business of " the
 * " schools ‡," and to them I leave it.—Here are my proofs ;
 * —here are my arguments and demonstrations.' Pardon
 me, Sir, replied I, all that is only paper and parchment
 —except there were *two* contracting parties, which there
 were not ; and except they be all signed and sealed *inter-*
changeably, upon equitable conditions, mutually and re-
 ciprocally

* Burke's Speech, pag. 89.

† Shylock.

‡ Burke's Speech, pag. 90.

ciprocally advantageous and obligatory, and binding upon both parties; which all the world knows *they are not*. There is a certain constitutional maxim, which says, that a *quid pro quo* is indispensibly requisite for giving validity and obligatory virtue to any and to *every* contract between two parties, otherwise it is *nullus pactus*, a void covenant. All these deeds are, to be sure, legible enough; and sure enough also, have for their contents what you are pleased to recite;—the writing is very fair, and they bear plenty of seals and signatures, royal and official:—“Be it enacted,” and other binding forms, stand in their accustomed places; and they wear withal, to say truth, a consequential and respectable appearance. But this appearance alone will not be sufficient for your purpose. If, as the appellant urged, and as indeed you boast, they were all of your own fabricating and imposing, this alone, were they even unexceptionable in their conditions, renders them absolutely nugatory. But if, besides this, many of them are totally subversive of justice and equity, utterly repugnant to the law of nature, and shocking to humanity, as upon the very face of them appears, how, Sir, can you forget what is due to your own character, and so far depart from all that is right and respectable, as to plead, any longer, acts which are not only null and void for want of the essential principles of validity, but specifically criminal; and which it would be equally criminal not to oppose and resist! Besides, Sir, I fear that, should you remove this cause once more, and put it at issue upon *the last appeal*, that even then, with all your supposed advantages, it might not terminate to your advantage. “The race is not *always* to the swift, nor the battle to the strong;” but sometimes “the mighty are put down, and the proud are scattered in the imagination of their hearts.”—“My deeds,” says he, “upon my head! I stand here for law; I stand here on my bond *”—Be not obstinate, Sir, in a wrong cause; peruse, I beseech you, these nugatory deeds (nugatory so far as relates to the point now in dispute) without a prejudice to your own side of the question, and examine with equal attention and candour all that hath been urged against them, by your own friends

as well as your enemies : you will then think differently, depend upon it ; you will chearfully cast them all aside, and, resuming your wonted frankness and good-nature, will treat with the appellant as your *equal* : for all are equals in acts of contract and convention, and in the scales of justice. Be wise, Sir, and be happy. Your future intercourse will, I promise you, be mutually honourable, pleasing and beneficial, provided it be regulated by justice, temper and right reason.—‘ No,’—exclaims the haughty respondent, ‘ I will make no concessions ; I will not condescend to listen to her pleadings, but at my feet. I am not disposed to stoop so low as to treat, when I have power to command.—I reject with disdain all obligations reciprocally binding, while I have power to bind the appellant, and to keep myself free to loosen or to tighten those bonds as it may suit my caprice or my convenience. —On this point I “ reason not at all *.”—They who have neither fleets nor armies, nor——, nor a treasury at command, may treat and reason if they please : but for myself—

“ By my soul I swear
 “ There is not pow’r in the tongue of man
 “ To alter me †.”

“ I will have the law—I will have my bond,” I say ; or the ‘ rebellious blood of that traitress !’ Since then, Sir, rejoined I for the last time, you reject alike all conciliatory propositions, and, rashly making the last appeal, you trust the issue of this cause to the sword, why, be it so !—Your deeds be upon your head !—And may the God of battles be a shield unto the feeble and oppressed !

Although, as I have said above, that I did not expect the foregoing sheets would for a season be either well received or much attended to, by those to whom they were more immediately addressed ; as indeed I had little better expectations from the public in general, until the failures of all other expedients than that which is there proposed, should open their eyes a little more ; yet I trust, that a discerning

* Burke’s Speech, pag. 87.

† Shylock.

discerning and upright few have read them with approbation ; and, if I do not deceive myself, I think there is to be discovered a daily alteration of public sentiment, which tends, though slowly, yet with certainty, to terminate in the conclusion I have long since drawn from the premises which our American contest hath furnished us with. Those who have given a careful attention to the whole of the literary altercation in pamphlets and other publications, and viewed the question also as agitated by the able speakers in the houses of parliament, and have moreover deeply meditated upon it in their own minds, pursuing every material argument to its legitimate result, must I am persuaded have discovered that it ultimately turns upon this one point of *dependency* or *independency*. While this capital point remains undetermined, it appears to me quite a frivolous waste of time to debate upon any other part of the question, which is infinitely complex, while each part refers to this point : it is therefore this, as a leading principle on which all the rest depends, that ought primarily to be considered and decided upon, before any other can be discussed with propriety or advantage. I know not whether the American advocates have paid due attention to the fundamental principles which have given such authority and success to their several pleadings in favour of their injured clients : but all of them, they may depend upon it, when faithfully traced up to their source, and allowed their full operation, will as necessarily and incontestably prove the rights of independency to belong to the British Americans, as they do support the constitutional rights of Englishmen. He who means to shew that those people are not intitled to independence, and yet would argue in support of their *freedom*, will soon contradict or confound himself ; for in order thereto, he must derive that freedom from other principles than those of the British constitution ; which however no one has yet been silly enough to attempt. Now I do assert and will maintain, that, by the pure and genuine principles and the indispensable maxims of that constitution, they are as much entitled to legislative independence as Englishmen are entitled to representation in parliament, to trial by jury, or any other the most indisputable constitutional benefit whatsoever,

soever, because their *self-preservation* requires it. Would but their many able and patriotic friends amongst us advert to this truth, possess themselves of it clearly and fully, and speak it out boldly, they would find it give a strength and consistency to their arguments, which at present they evidently want and must want without it, as it is the very soul of the cause, and which would not fail to impress an irresistible conviction on the generality of their hearers and readers. For my own part, I solemnly protest, that the main arguments in favour of the colonies, if not resting on the foundation of their right to independence as a principle taken for granted, appear to my judgment very inconclusive and unsatisfactory. They prove indeed to demonstration the impolitic and absurd conduct of administration; and they expose in strong colours their inhumanity, which the principles of tyranny itself will not justify: but still they leave the foundation of their arbitrary power unmoved—untouched:—and so long as nature itself doth not revolt at the excesses of their cruelty, they may, on these gentlemen's own principles, continue tyrants, and plead the sanctions of law and justice against the constitutional rights of the colonists.—So long as they admit that the *British Empire*, as we proudly phrase it, comprehends within it the states of America; so long do they afford the minister all the means he wants for the arbitrary government of those states; arbitrary I say, *because it cannot be otherwise in our hands*. If those states be truly and rightfully parts of this empire, they undoubtedly must submit to British government; but British government, *agreeable to the constitution*, it is impossible, as hath been shewn, to administer them from hence. What is the obvious result?

I am well aware, that by some I shall be thought needlessly to speculate and refine, and be warned against calling in doubt the authority of government with too nice a scrutiny. But to such I answer, that no man would be more backward than myself to risk the peace of society, by bringing unnecessarily into discussion latent and nice distinctions in favour of public liberty, which the governing powers were wise and honest enough to leave dormant and at rest as they found them. But when mistaken,

designing or violent ministers avail themselves of the passive inattention of the people to these distinctions in their favour, and thereupon ground a hope of successfully innovating upon the wholesome guards and defences of the constitution; when they make novel demands, introduce new and unsound precedents, cause them hastily and indecently to be passed into laws, and then, under the pretence, and alas! under the sanction of law, proceed to numberless and unheard-of oppressions, which the feelings of a Hottentot would inform him were contrary to reason and to justice; and when they shut their ears against complaints of these wrongs, treat humble petitions with contempt, dutiful remonstrances as acts of disobedience to lawful authority, and constitutional opposition as rebellion; reiterating all the while their tyrannical mandates with more and more severity every time they are not slavishly obeyed;—when, I say, they do all this, and throughout the whole rest their justification on *the letter of the law*, let me ask if it be not high time to *speculate*, to *refine*, and have recourse even to *metaphysical distinctions* *, provided they be *fairly deducible from truth*:—in short, to scrutinize their pretensions to the marrow, to fathom them to the very bottom; in order to detect those covered rocks and sand-banks which are the true causes of all that disturbance we behold on the surface of our present political navigation; and to warn the people against suffering the anchor to be cast in such foul ground at the peril of shipwreck; or trusting any longer the guidance of the vessel to helmsmen who have brought themselves into such a dilemma, that they know not which way to steer for safety; and yet, through pride, shame and vexation, still perversely refuse to have recourse to the compass of the constitution, which alone can set them right and bring them into port. We must either do this, or resign our American kindred to absolute slavery as *by law established*. And on this occasion I must take leave to say, that to the advice of those who recommend the suppressing of truth, we should ever listen with much caution or much jealousy, according to their respective characters. Some there are whom a pardonable timidity, and some whom an amiable humanity and benevolence of mind, in-

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* Burke's Speech, pag. 89, 94.

cline, and often no doubt with reason, to this circumspect and preventive conduct : but, for the far greater part, it is the artful and insidious suggestion of crafty and ambitious men, who have gotten the power of the state into their own hands ; friends to all that mystery, ignorance and superstition on which the keeping of their abused authority depends, and by which their odious vices are to be gratified at the expence of the credulous people. Whereas it is in the divine constitution of things that fallacy in itself, though not perhaps immediately hurtful, hath ever a necessary tendency to introduce evil into the moral and political systems of the world ; while truth, on the contrary, tends as naturally and necessarily to the final, though not perhaps to the present, introduction of good. Where indeed there is no attempt to establish fallacies for wicked purposes, it may often be more for the peace and welfare of society that we do not too curiously search after every hidden truth ; but when that diabolical attempt is once made, we cannot easily go too deep in our enquiries after it, nor can we place it in too strong a light. Happy will it be for future generations, if their princes and ministers should profit themselves of the wise reflections on this delicate subject which they may find in the excellent *Considerations on the measures carrying on with respect to the British colonies in North America*, p. 22—27.

Were we not carefully to distinguish between general maxims and their exceptions, the writer might, under the authority of the foregoing one, have been totally silent on the subject of these essays : but we trust that the reasons assigned for the part acted on this occasion, will not only acquit us of the base and wicked designs of an incendiary, an unnatural child of Great-Britain, or a traiterous fomentor of rebellion ; (charges very liberally bestowed by a certain class of persons on even those champions of American freedom, who have not however as yet given utterance to that horrible word—*independence*) but that we shall in time be allowed to have spoken with the warning voice of a faithful, though unwelcome monitor ; of a sincere, affectionate and determined friend, though no flatterer. Conscious of no other motives than what are becoming of this character, we shall proceed to deliver somewhat more fully

fully what at first we rather hinted than explained. Though now indeed it is not our intention to say more than is absolutely necessary to prevent cavils, and in order to furnish materials for thinking upon, to those who are disposed to think : for, from those to whom even *thinking* is too great a trouble, we must not expect the still greater effort of *acting* in the public cause ; wherefore it is needless to spend our time in voluminous writing for their information. And after all, those, alas ! who are most capable of judging, and whose duty it is to judge of, and to conduct, the public affairs, are the last it should seem from whom attention is to be expected.

But notwithstanding the people, for want of those informations obtained by ministers and statesmen, are less able to judge accurately, yet it is their just praise that they are disposed to judge as well as they can, and have a real desire that things should be conducted for the best, the good of the whole being alone consulted. It is therefore that the judgment of the people, with all its defects, is to be respected ; that every assistance is to be afforded it by those who mean well ; and that its slow progress in arriving at ripeness and maturity is to be allowed and waited for with patience. Like the nut, when most ripe it is the most solid. The people, though slow indeed to receive instruction, will however in the end listen to reason and learn wisdom. With them, the best arguments and most upright plans will ever be finally approved ; and through them alone it is that the friends of public liberty must hope to influence the decisions of the cabinet and the most essential measures of administration, where even two or three virtuous men, though ever so responsible to the public from the nature of their offices, cannot, it is presumable, guide and direct as they would wish ; but find themselves under the necessity of either abandoning the helm wholly to bad men, or else of carrying into execution measures which they often in their hearts condemn and sometimes abhor. Sad alternative ! And unhappy that state where wisdom and virtue are thus of necessity obliged to vail to vice and insufficiency ! But such the alternative must ever be in this country, until the people shall exert themselves to purify the fountain of government : or until the indivi-

dual who hath alone the power of doing it himself, shall greatly undertake the noble, the god-like task; and for that purpose select about him and resolutely support a few counsellors of an unfashionable virtue and sterling patriotism, wise and intrepid enough to work so thorough and so necessary a reformation, in contempt and despite of the servile and adulatory, the interested and artful, the ambitious and treacherous counsels of those sycophants and devouring locusts that are the general curse of courts and of their country. Whatever may have been suggested to him by those in his bosom confidence, he will find this the surest road to happiness and glory; and the only road to an extraordinary degree of power, which would then be as unbounded as Britain and British America in close union, actuated by one soul, and moving in one direction, could confer. That such a glory, eclipsing all the glories of antiquity would transcend whatever hath irradiated any earthly diadem, that such a power would in the comparison reduce to mere littleness the boasted power of imperial Rome, and cause that proud mistress of the *then feeble and barbarous* world to hide her diminished head, is a proposition as undeniable, in my humble opinion, as that health, vigour and length of days are the natural effects of temperance; honour and happiness the usual offspring of virtue.

When I first undertook to publish my sentiments on the critical situation of this country with her colonies, I was far from despairing that others "would come after me mightier than I*;" and it is with infinite satisfaction I have observed to arise, one after another, several excellent and most respectable writers on the subject, "the latchet of whose shoes I am not worthy to loose*." I, indeed, with a feeble voice, warned a heedless generation to flee from the evil to come, or more properly to prevent its coming; but there are those who have succeeded me, of whom to an infatuated people I might with much verity say (I hope without prophaneness, for though I adopt the emphatical language of holy writ, I mean no comparison between the persons spoken of), "there stand some among you whom ye know not †;" preachers of peace and prophets:—
hear

* St Luke, chap. iii.

† St. John, chap. i. ver. 26.

hear them:—Would to heaven that mistaken ministers and a misguided prince would, after the example of the conscious publicans, say unto them, “Masters, what shall we do?” And that “the soldiers likewise would demand of them, and what shall *we* do?” Because the former must receive for answer, “Exact no more than that which is appointed you;” and the latter would be taught to “Do violence to no man, neither accuse any falsely*.” While these greater teachers continue to enforce their admonitions with superior eloquence and argument, and with many an instructive reference to the page of history, it being mine to pursue a different path in the same pilgrimage, I mean still to keep within the sphere I first allotted myself. I shall continue to avoid as much, as possible all recitals of statutes and authorities, all references to facts and precedents, all appeals to records and histories, as things too often uncertain, vague, indeterminate and contradictory one of another; leading to disputation rather than to truth and happiness, except comprehensively understood, examined and compared with unbiassed candour, and treated of in the most masterly manner. My references are to a law and a constitution which at all times past, present and to come, have spoken, do speak, and ever will speak the same language without any alteration or ambiguity. My appeals are to the common sense, the hearts and consciences of my countrymen. If they mean honestly to themselves and to one another, it will not be necessary for their friends to be at the trouble of writing in a large and voluminous way for their instruction. But such indeed is the real way of the world, that the writings of honest men of every species will be of use, and those of the kind I do not pretend to, if well executed, the most so. However, on the subject now under consideration, they seem to have been carried nearly to their full length; all in a manner that can be said in that way, hath been said; and for the present the subject seems to be exhausted. On the contrary, the line which I have ventured on, I fear with too much presumption, appears to have been neglected: and surely there is field enough for the display of knowledge; the proof of genius, and the exercise of judgment.

* St. Luke, chap. iii.

judgment. I have but as it were passed through it, gathering only a slender specimen of its productions, a few of its spontaneous fruits and flowers which offer themselves to the hand of every traveller: but to him who hath strength and talents for the culture, there is an assurance of a golden harvest.—But until this wished-for husbandman shall arrive, and while we have yet a moment's breathing time ere the bill of famine shall have driven the insulted colonists to desperation, and the fatal consequences shall come upon us like a whirlwind; and with ardent, anxious hopes for the best, I return once more and for the last time to my post.

It is not in order to dispute, for to that there is no end; it is not to recapitulate the endless errors of administrations since 1763, for that too would be a tedious task: neither is it to represent what might have been the happy effects had we invariably proceeded in our ancient course of policy towards the colonies, before the scheme of taxation made the first breach between us; not yet is it to play the state-tinker by pretending to beat out the bruises of a battered vessel, to solder up its cracks, and once more to unite by *cramps* and *rivets* its separating parts, when these very superadditions would only, like the new cloth in the old garment*, rend to pieces its worn-out substance, and hasten the more rapidly its final destruction. No; it is not any one of these impracticable and useless labours I am about to undertake; but, since this same crazy vessel is of the purest metal, yet not well adapted to our future use by reason of its very unwieldy magnitude, and having out-lived the fashion of the times in which it was wrought, I mean that we should act the part of the judicious goldsmith and cast it anew†. Instead of one out-sized vessel, consisting
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* St Matt. chap. ix. ver. 16.

† In order that the dangerous language of allusion may not mislead, let it be observed that it is not the *constitution of state* either in Great-Britain or the colonies I mean to cast anew; but their *relationship*, their *mutual dependence* and the *terms of their intercourse*. Instead of the impracticable endeavour to prove them to be, and the equally vain attempt for holding them together as, *one empire*; I would have us open our eyes
to

of two parts ill joined to each other, like the bulky extremities of a wasp held together by a too-feeble waist, and ever liable to be wounded and even to break asunder at the point of contact, I would have us mould it into two separate and distinct parts or members, which yet, like the ball and socket, should intimately correspond and harmonize throughout their whole extent, wholly filling and embracing each other respectively. Thus would they be inseparably united; yet their union such as to leave each free to move and act, independent of the other, in every respect but that of a capacity to fall away from and desert its companion; and thus would they be perfectly fitted for co-operation one with the other. By these means too the strength, solidity and durableness of both would be improved and increased, in proportion to the reduction of surface and contraction of dimensions in each. Hereby also we should perfectly remedy all those defects in their original construction, which neither were nor could be foreseen by those persons, who through a great variety of different and jarring designs and motives, and at many different periods of time without any kind of concert or conjoint plan, put their several successive hands to this imperfect work: and all apprehensions of future breaches, divisions or total separation, would be for ever removed; at least to a period too far distant in the infinity of time to be foreseen.

While almost the whole legislature, for aught that I know to the contrary, are unanimous in maintaining the grand principle on which administration acts, namely, that the colonies are subject to the supreme legislative power of Great-Britain, and acts consistently enough so long as it has that foundation to go upon; and while a great majority of the people are of the same way of thinking, and still believe themselves intitled, though they know not how, to the very flattering distinction and glory of having a share in this same supreme legislative power; that is to say, while the ministers have the popular voice in support
of

to truth, and follow the dictates of wisdom, by confessing they are not, ought not to be, and cannot be one empire; and then use the best means in our power for forming a conjoint and beneficial confederacy of them, as separate, free, and independent states.

of the fundamentals of their American system of government ; surely they must be thought to have managed ill in pursuing *measures* that meet with general dislike and condemnation, as arbitrary in an extreme, and directly subversive of the constitution. Whence this inconsistency and contradiction in public sentiment ? Must we not learn to account for it by considering the difference of *acting upon false principle*, and of merely entertaining them as *speculative notions* in our own minds ? Is not the unreflecting and man-affecting youth continually professing a wish that he could debauch the sister or the daughter of his friend or acquaintance, and is there not sophistry enough in the flattering language of his passions to persuade him 'tis a meritorious, or at least a harmless act : although we often know that he is the farthest from being rascal enough coolly to premeditate and unfeelingly to perform all the wiles and villainy necessary to carry his idle professions into action ; and that the first act of baseness in his progress, touching with self-contempt his feeling heart, would open his eyes, and cause him to look with horror and detestation upon what he so lately considered as fair and reputable. So it is not to be wondered at that the *speculative notions*, the *youthful opinions* of an uninstructed and unreflecting people, flattered and misled by *national pride and vanity*, and moreover duped into a belief that the fruition of American delights is not to be had without British sovereignty, should on this occasion be favourable to the support of that very ministerial violence and injustice which however shocks them in the exercise. But did a true sense of the political guilt of administration strike home upon their hearts, we may be very certain they would no longer contribute to it by a heedless declaration of such sentiments ; but with one voice confess their error and express their unanimous disapprobation of measures so contrary to the constitution. — While so considerable a party thus do mischief by suffering their reason and their virtuous principles to sleep, there is much more harm done by those, who for the sake of popularity and their own purposes, profess in a great measure that which is right, while we know they have no principles at all, and are the mere slaves of interest and a traiterous ambition. These are the professed libertines and confirmed

debauchees in politics ; who, while they laugh at the plain orthodox doctrines in government, hold yet a certain latitudinarian, pliable, free-thinking kind of a faith, which may very conveniently be interpreted either this way or that, as shall be necessary to condemn a rival or to justify themselves for the self-same actions. These men, when ministers, will commit adultery with a state in wedlock, violate the virginity of a colony, or hold an incestuous commerce with the mother-country without one feeling of compunction ; and can produce you their philosophical creed with many a nice distinction, many a subtle stroke of casuistry, which, though it is impossible to understand, they will most religiously assure you not only affords them a justification, but enjoins on them what they have done as a positive and indispensable duty. But then, let the wheel of court-fortune give but a single turn, and topple them out of the seat of power, this same creed shall instantly be produced to prove the clean contrary. Nay, their piety is now shocked to such a degree at deeds so foul and enormities so gross, and their zeal for the true faith runs so high, they lift up their voices and cry aloud, that the present perpetrators of *their own crimes* are not men but monsters, not sound political divines but state dæmons, and that nothing less than their blood can make atonement for their crimes. Of this stamp I fear are too many of those who are now ready to tear the minister in pieces for coercing the colonies into obedience to *that very authority which they themselves contributed to establish, and even now* (in order to preserve the means of acting the tyrant themselves when it shall again come to their turn) *maintain they are subject to.* After concurring to lodge in any man's hands an unjust and arbitrary power, 'tis ridiculous to talk of his abusing it. We might with as much reason cut a breach in our bank, and complain of the river for overflowing our lands. It is not, in my opinion, by carping and cavilling at this proposal and that plan of the minister, or running counter to all his measures, that his opponents are to shew their patriotism at this crisis ; but first, by making a conquest within their own breasts over all the pride, ambition and inordinate love of rule which they shall find there ; and then by contending like

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men for the grand constitutional principles and fruit, not the empty forms and husks of government. Before I can compliment these gentlemen with my suffrage for the minister's power being transferred to their better keeping, they must convince me that they differ with him in *essentials*. I must perceive that they allow and maintain that the colonist's title to liberty is as good and *as extensive* as their own; and that they strive with all their strength to procure them such a liberty. When they do this, they will have the suffrages of most reflecting, dispassionate and upright men to favour their *then honest* ambition. But here, alas! is the stumbling-block. They can reproach the minister with a design against the liberties of America; they can talk, and talk, and say abundance of fine things in favour of freedom: but, once mention to them the word *independence*, they shrug their shoulders and cry, 'that is carrying things too far;—American freedom is very consistent with a parliamentary legislative supremacy' (this indeed is coming to the point, would they but give us their *proof* of this proposition; but that I believe they will find cannot be given.) 'The colonists, say they, are certainly entitled to liberty; but (according to Mr. Burke's language) it must be a "subordinate liberty:" it must not be allowed more than the ample range of a parliamentary managerie, which is "enough surely for the ease and happiness of man *;" or its wings must be properly clipped, in order to keep it within *the bounds prescribed* it by the superintending and controlling power of the present state.' The plain English is, that not being the minister, they are not disposed to sympathize with him in *his* inordinate love or extravagant exercise of power; but when it is *their own dearly-beloved power*, as members of the British legislature, which is to be parted with, they are then all sensibility and shrink at the very thought. "Here's the rub that makes *tyranny* of so long "life †." A change of measures only in American affairs, would probably be more satisfying to the public than any change of men which could be made in the American, or chief responsible department.

Perhaps

* Burke's Speech, pag. 94.

† Hamlet's Soliloquy.

Perhaps there cannot in nature be so strong a refutation of the senseless position that, 'the colonies are virtually (that is *actually*, for the terms are as nearly as possible synonymous) represented in the parliament of Great-Britain,' as the *general feelings* (of which are born the general opinions,) of the bulk of the people on the two sides of the Atlantic. The people of Great-Britain, notwithstanding how greatly they are abused in this particular, do *feel* that they enjoy an actual and virtual representation, such as it is; and they do firmly believe it, nay they *know* it of a certainty. But, with regard to their American friends being so represented as themselves, and that the very men whom *they alone* have deputed are the representatives of the said Americans, it *not coming home to their feelings*, nor being *level with their understandings*, some think one way, some another, as information, attention or clearness of intellect enables them to judge: whereas on the contrary, *there is not an American on the whole continent who can be such an idiot* as to believe he is represented in a parliament composed of men, in the electing and deputing of whom *not one American*, as an American, did or could give a suffrage; because the certainty of the ill consequences, the self-evidency of the point, his common sense, and every feeling of his mind, all give the lie direct to the impudent assertion. How it can be demonstrated therefore, that they are subject to the authority of such a parliament *, and that "of right it should have a power of "binding them in all cases whatsoever," I confess once more I am totally unable to conceive. This is not the doctrine of the constitution; for that doth in every volume, in every line, in every letter, teach and inculcate the very contrary.

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* The enemies of liberty may save themselves the fruitless trouble of endeavouring to persuade us, that there is any mysterious virtue in the nature of the legislature on account of its consisting of a king and lords, as well as representatives of the people, to rule over and bind the colonists; for the constitution knows of no legislative powers whatever which are not partaken of by the people, who are to submit their actions to their authority.

I never before knew that any state of being would admit of two different definitions repugnant to each other ; and I am curious to see this new phenomenon in logic,—a definition to prove liberty to be one thing under the rising, and quite a different thing under the setting sun ; and the more so, as it seems to have an immediate relation to another matter, which is one of the grand desiderata in science, and a point of high importance to the maritime world. Should but this new-discovered liberty be found to vary from the liberty of Great-Britain in any certain regular proportion as we go eastward or westward, which no doubt will be as clearly demonstrable as its own existence, we shall then have nothing more to do than to calculate the exact difference of liberty between any two meridians, those for instance of London and Boston in New-England, and this will give us at once their difference of longitude, and save the philosophers a world of trouble. What a happy discovery ! How the sciences cast lights upon one another ! Who could have thought we should be at once indebted to the same benefactors for a new species of, I had like to have said a new invented liberty and a discovery of the longitude ? After this hint, they will be much to blame if they do not push on their researches and perfect their discovery ; since such solid rewards will now await the success of their labours. I promise them I will take no advantage of the ladder they have provided, by running up before them and snatching away the golden prize.—

The reader will have perceived that I am of opinion, the present political agitation of things, where all is fermentation and turbid ebullition, will either refine itself into a happy *solution*, where all shall again be transparent and serene ; and wherein British commerce, wealth, dignity and strength shall all be suspended and sustained by affinity and the sweet influence of attraction in the rectified spirit of American liberty and independence, without injury to its clearness, beauty or relish ; or else, that it will sluggishly subside into an undefined and undefinable *mixture* of liberty and tyranny, of partial benefits and reciprocal injuries, with the putrid dregs of corruption ever at the bottom for increasing this muddiness on every motion by
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its foul contaminations, in order to prevent the people from discovering the specific ingredients which are the nauseous and baneful components, or at least from being able to ascertain their quantities and proportions so as to know how to provide themselves with a proper and sufficient antidote. He will likewise have perceived that this is a mixture I am not very willing to have poured down the throat of America, or administered to this country as the proper remedy in her present vital decay. Indeed, so far as relates to the future health and preservation of the colonies, I have much more faith in the healing virtues of the following excellent simples—legislative separation and independence, provincial separation and independence one of another, an exclusion of all military policy, except that of self-defence by militia, constant jealousy and watchfulness for the perpetuation of liberty, together with a particular and a general commercial and protective maritime alliance with Great-Britain: as on our own part, my only hope lies in parliamentary, and consequently national reformation, which however I fear nothing but some severe calamity will bring us to; in our thirst for dominion being moderated and restrained within natural bounds; in public integrity, public œconomy, public industry and public spirit. These are the best, and I verily believe the only preservatives of their constitutions and restoratives of our own. Did but these become the general opinions of those who are really friends to their country, and American independence the first immediate object of their joint labours, I should hope there is yet righteousness enough left to save our city: and I am persuaded, even to conviction, that this wholesome regimen would infuse such new life, spirit and vigour into the constitution of Great-Britain, as in its political effects should exceed in the intrinsic value and transcend in lustre all that ever hath been experienced by any nation upon earth. Even America, whose portion would be the smallest, would find herself in true and permanent happiness, if not in splendor, superior to the most renowned empire of ancient or modern times; and perhaps not inferior to Great Britain, her august husband himself, if I may be indulged in that adopted term.

But

But yet I am aware, that I have the old and the grand objection to my proposal still to contend with. It will still be urged, that when you shall have acknowledged and sealed this independency to the colonies, and done your best to secure for yourselves the beneficial monopoly of their trade and other advantages, by the general league of perpetual amity and alliance, of protection and compensation, they will pay no sort of regard to such engagements on their parts ; and then you will no longer, for want of your sovereign legislative authority, have power to compel their compliance. I have already spoken, as the reader will recollect, to this question. I have already observed, that we shall still have the same force for awing America into a faithful observance of her treaties that we now have to enforce obedience to a disputed and odious sovereignty *, which is growing more and more odious every day ; and this with many obvious advantages that do not attend the exertions of our present authority : so that I will only farther request a suspension of judgment until the reader shall have examined and scrutinized the proposal itself ; as it stands in its new and improved dress towards the close of this postscript, in the form of a draft for a declaratory and conciliatory act of parliament. Let it speak for itself. It will at least, I flatter myself, give better security for the grand colonial benefits which, I presume, are the proper objects of our care and policy, than the present red-hot system of coercion to *we know not what*, should it even succeed to the utmost wish and desire of administration ; of which however we may very reasonably doubt. And should it fail, what have we then to look for !—It may be well with us in that day if nothing worse than national bankruptcy and beggary shall befall us.

Now the utmost failure of the policy recommended in these essays, which, without violating all credibility, it is possible to conceive, cannot at the worst make the Americans *our enemies*, and thereby invite other rival states to make war upon us ; neither can it produce any other important ill consequences, or greatly diminish the trade and strength of this kingdom. That the commercial restraints to which the league shall bind them, may be frequently

* American Independence, pag. 65.

quently evaded by the Americans, I am very ready to grant. And when this is granted, let me ask if I have not granted all that we have to apprehend as disadvantageous to us from that system. Has the possession of our sovereignty, I pray, hitherto been found sufficient to prevent smuggling and illicit commerce; or is there any newly discovered virtue in that kind of authority by which it will more effectually operate in those cases hereafter? Doth the sovereign power in this island, where it is perfect, prevent these practices on any part of our own coasts, and even daily under the very nose of government in the capital? Let the objectors only say by what rule, while we continue to govern America by parliamentary authority, their clandestine trade is to be prevented; and I will undertake to provide regulations among the conditions of the general league and the separate treaties full as effectual for answering the same ends. In short, the objection that the American states will not observe the proposed treaties with Great-Britain, *merely because of their being in a state of freedom*, appears to me, when it comes from the well-meaning, to be an objection of timidity, of narrow comprehension and error; as I am sensible it is, from too many others, an objection of national pride and prejudice that hath nothing to do with national dignity: while there is another still, and that I fear the most powerful, though not the most numerous party, from whose ready lips and restless pens it is an objection of servility, baseness, treachery, filthy avarice, boundless ambition, and every other vice which in confederacy with despotism, is found to be eternally at enmity with liberty and public happiness.

By men whose souls for ever dwell in the darkness and chaos of contending passions, whose minds are over-gorged with an indigestible load of reading, and whose experience hath all lain in the hollow ways and beaten tracks of official business, or in the crooked and under-ground paths of corrupt policy, the proposal I make will in all probability be rejected without consideration, merely because "the file affords no precedent *:" and the rule I have observed, of arguing somewhat abstractedly; and referring only to that best criterion of good government, the three-fold

* Burke's Speech, pag. 43.

fold mirror composed of the constitution of England, the law of nature, and the religion of Christ, is not I know more likely to meet with their approbation. But men of intrinsic worth, of liberal natures, of great and independent souls, who have searched into books and men more with the mental eye than the bodily organ, and who, taking an enlarged view of things, have reconnoitred well the geography of the moral and political world from the eminences of exalted genius and wisdom; men who know how to strike out new paths and to open new communications as new occasions shall require; men of this stamp, I say, will be indulgent to my mode of proceeding, and give at least a candid examination to what is laid before them. While deeply engaged in comprehensive and complicated plans, while marshalling and ordering the vast array of a nation's affairs, and occupied in active services to their country, they will be thankful for any hint which may serve to correct the little oversights and irregularities of their movements, and for the occasional communications of those discoveries which their less occupied attendants, even the meanest of them, may accidentally have made before them.

But though we talk of new discoveries, and recommend to practice untried expedients in policy, it is not thence to be inferred that we are wandering ourselves without a guide, or shall mislead others who may incline to follow us. While we stedfastly keep our eye upon our *unvarying compass* *; while we refer others also to that alone, and appeal in every step we take to the heart of every candid and unbiassed person, we may safely venture farther than any have yet dared to go before us, and we doubt not to lead the way to reconciliation, harmony and happiness, provided our intimations be not too long disregarded. Our ideas are rather suggested or hinted than enlarged upon, wishing every one to trace them to their necessary conclusions his own way: which is a mode of proceeding not to be relied upon by any, except those whose principles are founded in truth, whose intentions are honest, and whose advice is free from the suspicion of any indirect views or designs. Should our suggestions furnish the seed
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* Foregoing Letter to Mr. Burke.

of any useful matter, we trust it will not all "fall by the way-side, and be devoured by the fowls of the air *;" who are so ready to execute the will of "the prince of the powers of the air;" nor yet that it will not wholly "fall upon stony ground or amongst thorns;" but that some part at least shall fall into the kindly and generous soil of true British bosoms, and bring forth plenteously the fruits of liberty and prosperity. We do not aim at any reputation from these essays: we wish only to see the tree we have endeavoured to produce shoot up vigorously, thrive and flourish under the culture and protection of more masterly hands, and become the object of desire and admiration; while the little kernel from which it sprang shall be no more thought of. Our ambition is that which lives not by the breath of princes, nor hangs upon the world's opinion; but is supported and gratified by the internal consciousness of a sincere desire to serve the public, and therefore can feel no mortification or disappointment but in public failures or misfortunes. And our aim, while too many well-meaning men are spending themselves in arguing where argument is thrown away, is to put forth once more a hand, feeble as it is, in the actual attempt; by endeavouring to give a real being and permanent existence to some rational plan, which, when the mist of our infatuation shall be swept away before the storm that is gathering, and not a moment allowed us for deliberation, may be had recourse to as the ready means, perhaps the only means, of saving the state.

With the same public views which we believe were those of Lord Chatham, when he offered his Conciliatory Bill to the House of Lords, we have made the following draught of a bill for the same purpose, which however we hope will not, upon a close examination, be found to contain in it such unconstitutional materials as his Lordship's. Although we have the highest respect for that Lord's political abilities, yet we cannot understand why, or by what divine right, the British parliament, in which the people of our colonies making many flourishing states in America with legislatures of their own fully competent

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* St. Mark, chap. iv. ver. 3.

for procuring them all the ends of civil government have no participation whatever, should or can possibly, without a violation of the law of nature, enact, that "those colonies *of right* ought to be dependent upon the imperial (imperial is a fine word) crown of Great-Britain, and subordinate unto the said British parliament." Nor will our understanding, although we have given it very severe discipline for that purpose, be brought by any means to acknowledge that this said British parliament hath *of right* any power whatever "to make laws and statutes to bind the said people in all matters touching the general weal of the whole dominion of the said imperial (imperial is a great word) crown of Great-Britain;" not even in that "indubitable and indispenfible" point, as his Lordship thinks it, of "regulating navigation and trade throughout the complicated (complicated indeed, if this reasoning holds good) system of British commerce." And we believe that "the guardian navy of the whole British Empire (whole British Empire is a grand expression) will be upheld" by adhering to strict justice, to equal liberty, and the *plain* and *obvious* principles of the British constitution, rather better and more securely than by any "*deep policy*" whatever. The chief use which hath ever been made of *deep policy* in any age or country, hath been that of introducing into government an oracular mysteriousness, in order to give the administrators of it a sacerdotal power, and to render the people a credulous manageable herd of dupes. Could we have any doubt of the inadmissibility of the aforesaid *pretensions* of the British parliament, while they stood by themselves, surely our eyes must be opened, and the fallaciousness of that reasoning on which they are supported be exposed to our view, when we find that they are brought to prove a right in his Majesty to keep up a standing-army in the colonies; and, if he thinks proper, *the whole* of that army, which is annually voted by parliament for the service of the *whole British Empire*, the same by his prerogative being under his absolute command. When reasoning fails to convince, we may frequently with good success appeal to people's feelings.—What would Englishmen feel to have an immense stand-
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ing army of Americans quartered upon them at the king's pleasure, for no one purpose which they could possibly divine but to enforce his minister's will?—What must the people of New-England at this moment feel?—Indignation denies utterance.—Those quibbles and sophisms which are intended to inculcate it as a doctrine, that any people or nation (and by what exception to the general providence of God and the laws of nature are the Americans to be reckoned neither nations nor people?) may be rightfully subjugated to such a complete state of slavery as that of having no participation in making even their own *laws of defence*, as if inferior to the very brute animals they were void of the first principle of nature, that of self-preservation, are so very contemptible, that I must confess it pains me with a mortifying sense of human infirmity, that they should escape from the venerable lips of a man renowned for wisdom, magnanimity and nobleness of sentiment. After asserting the right of the crown to quarter troops upon the colonies at discretion, of what avail the following gentle ditty of a clause? “Never-
 “theless, in order to quiet and dispel *groundless* jealousies
 “and fears, be it hereby declared, that no military force,
 “however raised, and kept according to law, can ever
 “be lawfully employed to violate and destroy the just
 “rights of the people.”—Is this a clause to curb the pride of arbitrary kings and ministers?—Why are the means of preserving themselves,—Heaven's best gift and the prerogative of human nature!—to be denied to the British Americans?—If these, O Britons, are your principles of colonial government, ye are most execrable tyrants, unworthy the freedom yourselves enjoy and so ingloriously boast of! What are the means of your own self-preservation as a people, a civil community?—Are they not the having a participation in *all the laws* by which ye are governed; and a controlling power over the crown and its ministers by your commons holding the purse-strings, and having the sole giving and granting to the government its revenues?—Why then are the people of America to be deprived of the same means of self-preservation, the same controlling power, over the crown and other branches of their respective governments? This is the grand, the fun-

damental principle on which I maintain the right and the necessity of independence being given to the British Americans;—this is *the vital principle of the British constitution*.—Deprive it of this one principle, and it is that moment a dead letter.—Not one word hath been advanced by the legions of ministerial hireling speakers and writers, nor by the many hollow pretenders to patriotism throughout the almost innumerable speeches and productions that have for eleven years past being poured upon the public, that hath in the smallest degree invalidated this principle: as indeed it is utterly impossible that it should be invalidated, for it is written in the book of eternal truths by the finger of the Almighty.—I do therefore repeat, that unless the British Americans be in a condition to act upon this principle, they are in a state of slavery: and except there shall be some way found (which I believe is impracticable) for effecting an union of their several assemblies with our parliament, so as to enable the grand confederated legislature to act as one body, and to dispense equally to the people on both sides the Atlantic, the ends and benefits of good government; except, I say, these provisions be made, I do continue to maintain my original position, that the British American states, call them colonies, provinces, or what you will, do not owe any subjection to the single legislature of Great-Britain; nor are they under any legal obligation, or necessity, upon the principles of natural law, to acknowledge any dependency on the British parliament.—If this were so in fact, surely there is ingenuity enough amongst us to frame a syllogism that would demonstrate it.—But it is an undeniable fact, that no such demonstration hath been given. It is equally certain that no such demonstration can be given.

Having no occasion to accompany Lord Chatham regularly through the whole of his bill, I will now, after making an observation or two more, take my leave of it. Could I from my heart make a full “recognition of the “supreme legislative authority and superintending power “of parliament over the colonies,” I should esteem the remaining part of this bill as a display of much wisdom and humanity: but utterly rejecting that supremacy and superintending power, as I do from a thorough conviction

tion of mind, I cannot discover, nor have I ever observed a satisfactory reason to have been given, why the prudent and frugal colonists should contribute one farthing towards the relief of burthens brought upon ourselves by our own folly, extravagance, and corruption. The notoriety of the fact, that we voted them, *of our own mere motion*, considerable sums for relief of *their* burthens in the war, when we were convinced they had contributed *more than their quota*, is, I should have thought, a full answer to all the arguments made use of on the part of the people of Great-Britain, for having willingly taken a burthen too heavy to be borne “upon ourselves and *posterity*, which “in no inconsiderable part was for the defence, extension, “and prosperity of the colonies *,” as his Lordship, following therein the ministerial writers, expresses himself. But the most sanguine in this expectation upon the liberality of the colonists, should in reason wait until they have wholly discharged *their own national debts*, before they require their contributory aid towards the relief of ours. Indeed a little patience would be sufficient upon this occasion; for though the expences of the war did run them in debt, yet by the prudent and faithful use and application of their public money or taxes (for they really pay taxes in abundance, which many of the good people of Great-Britain, who are for ever crying ‘tax them, tax them,’ do not I presume suppose, but imagine that they live in a manner at free-cost, and put all the profits of their trade in their pockets) they have got themselves nearly out of debt again. Had we not better follow their wise example, than expect them and their posterity to pay for our and our predecessors stupidity and folly?—Tis enough surely to entail the curse of our debt upon our own innocent posterity!—With regard to the provision which his Lordship recommends for the personal security of the American subject, and the due administration of justice in criminal prosecutions, that he shall not “be deprived of a “trial *by the peers of the vicinage*,” it is to be observed, that the idea of the judgment of the vicinage, for the security

* See American Independence, pag. 20, where this argument is more fully refuted: as indeed it hath been by various writers.

and protection of the subject, pervades the whole system of English jurisprudence, and is an essential principle of the constitution. Hence it is, that in both criminal and civil cases we have a right to put ourselves upon our country; and even the jury which hath the disposal of our life or property in its hands, is subject to a most extensive right of challenge on our part of the persons it is composed of, in order that we may exclude all such as *we have reason to suppose prejudiced against us*. And this judgment of the vicinage is equally our right in respect of *taxation*; for the constitutional idea in this case is, that the subject shall be taxed only through his own delegate sent from his vicinage, and who knows what he is able to pay, and in what mode the payment will be most convenient to him. If I be on this occasion referred to the present house, and other late houses of commons, and desired to count over the numbers of those who come from the vicinage of their constituents, I am ready to reply, that *they ought to come from thence*; that the representatives of the people always *did* come from thence, till corruption found its way into our government, and threw the whole frame into disorder; and that whenever the purity of parliament and annual elections shall be restored, they will *once more* come from the vicinage of their constituents; at which time, and not till then, we may look for many necessary reformati-
 ons, and to have the taxes so levied and so applied as to leave the labourer a comfortable subsistence, and to relieve the state of the burthen it groans under with so much anguish. This pervading principle in our inestimable constitution, of *the judgment of the vicinage* for security of life, liberty and property, shews us in a moment what are the principles of those who contend for the right of the parliament of *Great-Britain* taxing the people of *America*. So late in the controversy as appeared the writer of *Taxation no Tyranny*, and so universally acknowledged as are the great abilities of the *reputed* author, I was led to infer that he, no doubt, must have thrown some new light on the point of American representation in the British parliament, and of virtual representation in general; but, alas! how great my disappointment! And how great also must be the credulity of those who can believe, that such an indecent scrap

of trash is really the production of a pen that hath formerly done so much honour to literature, and so much service to the cause of morality as that of Dr. Johnson! It is impossible that such an impudent attempt as this is upon the understandings of the public should have been made by any one who had that gentleman's reputation and moral character to have preserved. If indeed an imitation of the capital defects observable in the Doctor's stile, like the mimicry of an aukward attitude or ridiculous gesture, could at first sight strike the reader with a resemblance; yet the total want of argument, and candour, which this pamphlet betrays, in so lamentable a degree, must satisfy him, after the smallest share of attention, that the real writer of this wretched piece cannot possibly rank any higher in the literary, political, or moral world, than some unprincipled parish pedagogue, in hopes by selling his vote to the pensioned squire of being made an exciseman; and from the air of self-importance, insolence, and contempt which runs through every turgid line, he might very naturally suppose this pamphlet to be the substance of an oration, delivered by the affectedly-sententious declaimer over a mug of porter, amidst a circle of pot-house admirers.

The reader must pardon some little repetition of what he found in my tenth letter, in order that the whole of my present conciliatory plan may lie together; as I will leave as much of it as I can possibly dispense with, to be filled up by his judgment and the obvious inferences from the leading propositions.

A draught for a bill, proposed to be brought into parliament, for restoring peace and harmony between Great-Britain and the British colonies in North-America; and for perpetuating the same on the solid foundations of national affection, natural justice, reciprocal benefit and mutual security.

WHEREAS, at the time of the original planting and settling of colonies on the continent and the islands of North-America by the people and the crown of these kingdoms; and afterwards, during the infancy of the said colonies, the future ill consequences of their submission to, and acquiescence under the authority of parliament were not, by reason of their then infant and dependent state, and the general inexperience in matters of that kind, either foreseen or duly attended to: *And whereas*, through the growing of these once small and helpless colonies more or less to maturity, and their having now become, for the far greater part populous, opulent and respectable states, having each within itself the natural rights and proper powers of legislation, the exercise of parliamentary authority hath been found to clash in the most essential points with their respective internal legislatures, and hath tended, for a considerable time past, but more especially of late years, to create dissatisfactions and disagreements between the said internal legislatures and parliament, and between the people of the said colonies and the people of these kingdoms, to the great grief of his Majesty, his parliament, and all his good and faithful subjects; as well as that it will be to the irreparable hurt and damage (should these misunderstandings continue) of the good people

people in general, and the states of both countries, by tending to abate their mutual affection and confidence, and by interrupting their wonted harmony and long-established commerce.

And whereas the colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, in Congress assembled in the months of September and October last, did by their delegates draw up an humble petition, which was since presented to his Majesty, for redress of sundry grievances therein set forth; and came to many other resolutions on the subject of the unhappy differences still subsisting between them and this the parent state; all which have been laid before us for our inspection, together with various other papers of information transmitted from the American governors and others: *And whereas* these weighty matters, pregnant with the most important consequences to these kingdoms and the said colonies, have been taken into our most serious consideration; and after the most full and mature deliberation thereupon, it appears to us that, agreeable to the law and the constitution of England, the established maxims of civil government, the principles of natural justice, the obvious rules of good policy, and the benign spirit of our most holy religion, their representations and allegations set forth in the said petition to his Majesty, are in the main just and true, and consequently their complaints well founded, and that their desires and requests are reasonable: *And moreover* we think it is and will be inconsistent with the welfare of the people of the said colonies, and prejudicial to their inherent rights as men, to be any longer governed or controlled by any superintending legislative power in the parliament of Great-Britain, or any other power foreign to themselves respectively: *And therefore*, that to treat with the said colonies in a free and amicable manner towards healing the present divisions, adjusting their future relationship to these kingdoms, and promoting as far as may be the common quiet and prosperity on the surest and most solid foundations, will well become the wisdom and dignity of parliament: *Now in order* to effect these good purposes, and to avert the many

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and sad evils and calamities which must necessarily ensue, should their complaints be unredressed, should the powers of parliament as set forth in a Declaratory Act of the 6th of George III. continue to be insisted on and enforced, and the present unhappy differences between them and us be left unreconciled and permitted to cause an actual breach and hostile contention between us; *And in order* no less to manifest unto the said colonies and to all the world that justice, magnanimity, a love of liberty, and a sacred regard for the rights of mankind are still, as they have ever been, the peculiar characteristics of the British parliament; *May it please your most excellent Majesty*, that it may be declared, and be it declared by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal and commons in this present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the afore-mentioned colonies of *New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina*; and also the several colonies of *East Florida, West Florida, Georgia, Nova-Scotia, St. Johns the Island, and Quebec as limited by his Majesty's Royal Proclamation bearing date the 7th day of October 1763*, are all and each of them to be henceforth held to be free and independent states, owing no obedience or subjection whatsoever to the parliament of Great-Britain, which doth hereby in the most explicit, determinate, and ample manner and form renounce and relinquish all claims and pretensions to sovereignty, legislative supremacy, and controlling power over the respective legislatures of all and every of the said free and independent states of North-America; together with all rights and titles of dominion on the said continent of North-America, other than as hereafter in this act are claimed and specified. *And it is hereby farther declared*, that of each and every of the said free and independent states, his Majesty is and shall be held to be the true and lawful sovereign head, and in the said sovereignty and the just exercise of the powers thereunto belonging, shall be maintained and supported by the whole power of the parliament and people of Great-Britain; and that his successors in the British throne,

throne, shall in like manner succeed to and be supported in the regal title, rights and powers in and over each and every of the said free and independent states; *And it is also hereby farther declared and proclaimed*, that the parliament of Great-Britain will be the guardian and protector of all and every of the said free and independent states, collectively and individually, against every foreign power whatsoever; as well as the guarantee of the independence of the said several states, one of another respectively; as well also of the rights and independencies of the several tribes or nations of Indians in amity with or under the protection of the British crown, until these points shall be more particularly adjusted by treaty. *And farther*, each one and every of the said free and independent states are hereby invited to nominate and send over to England, as soon as may be, after the month of September next, each of them one plenipotentiary delegate, duly commissioned and authorized to attend the parliament at Westminster, in order, at the most convenient time after their first meeting or setting in the year of our Lord 1776, and before a joint-committee of the lords and commons of this realm to be appointed for the occasion, to express in due form their hearty and grateful acceptance of this declared and guaranteed independence and protection; and to accede to, and make a full and satisfactory acknowledgment and recognition of, the several rights of sovereignty and dominion claimed by the crown of Great-Britain in and over the seas, lakes and great rivers of North-America, as in this act are hereafter particularly declared and specified: and moreover with the said committee, to enter into a solemn, perpetual, and joint confederation, or general and grand league and alliance, offensive and defensive, for maintaining entire and in its full force that cordial and warm affection which hath heretofore so closely bound together and united Great-Britain and British America; and which, in consideration of the near and strong ties of kindred; of the community of laws, language, manners and religion; of the reciprocalness and inseparable nature of their commercial interests; as well as in consideration also of their natural and necessary connection as protectors and protected; ought for ever most sacredly and inviolably to be

preserved between them, in preference to every other political connection, alliance, confederacy, treaty or engagement, whatsoever and with whomsoever. *Now in order to maintain the undoubted rights of sovereignty and dominion belonging to the crown of Great-Britain in North-America, and the seas, lakes, great rivers and creeks thereof; and for preserving undiminished the rights and dignity of the British flag, and the honour and respect due to the same, may it also please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be farther declared,* and it is hereby farther declared, that the dominion of the sea from the mouth of the river Mississippi to the northern extremity of the continent of North America, and all admiralty jurisdiction within the same, did and doth of right solely belong and appertain unto, and depend upon the crown and kingdom of Great-Britain; *And also,* that the island of Newfoundland and its dependencies, together with the Great and Lesser fishing Banks of the same, extending from latitude 41. 00 to latitude 48. 30 N. together with that other called St. Peter's Bank, do also of right solely belong and appertain unto and depend upon the said crown and kingdom; excepting the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, together with certain liberties of taking and curing fish on the said banks and coasts of Newfoundland, ceded and granted under certain restrictions unto the subjects of the French king by the late treaty of peace between the two crowns; *And also,* that the entire country of Labrador, bounded to the south-west by Quebec, as limited by his Majesty's royal proclamation, bearing date the 7th day of October, 1763, aforesaid; that is to say, beginning at the river St. John's in the gulph of St. Lawrence, and extending to Hudson's Straits, together with all the islands and fisheries of the same, doth in like manner of right solely belong to and depend upon the said crown and kingdom; *As well as all those countries, coasts and fisheries granted by a conditional charter to the exclusive occupation of the Hudson's Bay Company: And it hereby also farther declared,* that all the great lakes of North America, viz. Lake Iroquois or Champlain, Lake Ontario or Catarakui, Lake Erie or Oswego, Lake Huron, Lake Michigan, and Lake Superior, together with the great rivers Mississippi and
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St. Lawrence, all the navigable communications between lake and lake, and every other navigable lake, river and creek in and throughout the said continent of North America, are of right subject to the naval sovereignty and dominion of the said crown and kingdom alone; and that the said crown hath a right also to the free use of all the customary carrying-places between one navigation and another: *And it is hereby farther declared and made known*, that the said crown of Great-Britain will not suffer any other power or state whatsoever, to navigate any of the said seas, lakes, rivers, communications or creeks, with ships or vessels of war of any kind; nor to carry on war or commit hostilities in any-wise against any other people, nation or state within or upon any of the said navigations, except they be legally authorized so to do by especial commission under the great seal of the admiralty of Great-Britain: *Nor* will the said crown consent to or suffer any of the aforementioned free and independent states of North America, to navigate the seas thereof, with ships or vessels of war; nor to carry on war or commit hostilities in any-wise against any other people or state by sea, except authorized thereto as above: *And moreover*, by the authority aforesaid, it is also declared, that in order to preserve inviolate and in full efficiency the above proposed alliance, which shall be known and distinguished by the title of *The Grand British League and Confederacy*, the said crown of Great-Britain will not, at any time hereafter, suffer or permit the trading or fishing-ships or vessels of any kingdom or state whatsoever, such kingdom or state not being a party to the said grand British league and confederacy, to navigate, fish or trade in any of the said North American seas, lakes or rivers other than is at present allowed to foreign states in general, and by treaty to France and Spain in particular: nor to anchor upon the said coasts, nor to approach them within two leagues of the land any where between the aforesaid boundary of the river Mississippi and the northern extremity of the said American continent, under pain of confiscation of ship and cargo to his Majesty, as king of Great-Britain and sovereign of the North American seas. *Neither* shall it be lawful for the subjects of any of the said free and independent states of
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North America, to fish upon the great fishing-banks of Newfoundland, or of St. Peter afore-mentioned, or upon the coasts of the island of Newfoundland, or upon the coasts of Labrador, except only for whale; nor to enter the ports of the same for trade, or for any other purpose than what immediately relates to the business of whaling and the sheltering and refitment of their whaling-ships or vessels, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo as above. *Provided nevertheless*, that no claim of sovereignty or dominion, made by this act, or hereafter to be made on the part of the crown of Great-Britain, in and over the afore-mentioned lakes, rivers, communications and creeks, lying between the gulph of St. Lawrence and river Mississippi, or any of them, shall be understood or construed to extend to any right, property or interference in the fisheries, or other liberties or appropriations therein, to the prejudice of any private right, privilege or property whatsoever; but shall always be understood to be confined solely and wholly to such a free use of the same, as is necessary to all the purposes of navigation of every sort, and the maintainance of naval dominion merely. *And may it please your Majesty*, that it may be also enacted, and be it enacted by the authority afore said, that it shall not be lawful, after the signing and final executing of the afore-mentioned Grand British League and Confederacy, for any public monies whatsoever, being part of the revenues of the crown in the dominions of Great-Britain, or in any of the said free and independent states of British America respectively, to be either paid or remitted from the said British dominions unto America, or from any of the said free and independent states unto the British dominions, for the use of his Majesty, his heirs or successors, as sovereign of that kingdom or state in which it shall be intended to be received: excepting only such monies as it may be requisite at any time hereafter to remit to America for defraying the necessary expences of his Majesty's British navy there.

And now in order that no possible cause of doubt may remain, touching the validity or sincerity of the above declaration of freedom and independence, but that it may be clear, full and satisfactory, and thereby lay a sure and solid

solid foundation for such perpetual concord, amity, alliance and mutually beneficial commerce between the states and people of Great-Britain and British America, as, under the good providence of Almighty God, who shall behold this act of national justice and good-will with an eye of pleasure, and will doubtless bless and further such benevolent designs for the maintainance of peace and happiness, and the prevention of discord and bloodshed between kindred states, and fellow-christians, no length of time shall impair or diminish; nor the arts or intrigues of foreign powers be able to disturb or interrupt, may it please your most excellent Majesty, that it may be enacted, *and it is hereby enacted* by the king's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled, That all and every of such acts of parliament as have at any time heretofore been particularly made, or intended to declare or maintain a supreme legislative power and authority over the people of the British American colonies as subjects of this realm, or for binding in any manner or degree the said people as subjects of this realm; and so much of all and every other act of parliament as extends to exercise supreme legislative power over any of the people of the said colonies, shall be and are, in virtue of this present act, fully and finally repealed and annulled from and after the day of before which time all his Majesty's British forces in North America shall be recalled from thence, and also all civil officers and servants of the British crown, shall be commanded and caused to resign their respective offices, posts, places and employments, and to withdraw from thence, except such as his Majesty, in virtue of his prerogative as sovereign of any of the said free and independent states shall appoint, or cause to be appointed anew to the like or other offices or employments in any of the said states respectively.

IN addition to what the reader would find in my tenth Letter and the notes subjoined, (to which I beg leave to refer him) as heads for the materials of the grand league and confederacy, by which I propose to secure our monopoly of the North American commerce, and to improve to the utmost of what they are capable, the various advantages of that connection; I shall now add, for the satisfaction of those not deeply conversant in subjects of this kind, but whose opinions in the general mass may nevertheless be of importance, a few more hints of such matters as would obviously become the proper objects of treaty and subjects of stipulation on this great occasion.

It might perhaps be right to establish the use of British money *only* as the lawful, current coin throughout British America; with a condition that each state should send in its proportion of bullion to the Mint, or grant Great-Britain an equivalent for the use of *her* money.—It might perhaps be proper and necessary that some small central island or district, lying on the Atlantic sea, should be ceded to Great-Britain for the residence of the British ambassador-general and plenipotentiary to the said states, and the head-quarters of the admiral; for the establishing a British court of admiralty for the more convenient dispatch of naval business upon the spot; and for other purposes of a like nature, appertaining to the naval dominion and umpireship of the crown of Great-Britain: as well as a well-situated port upon the lakes for the same purpose; such as Lake St. Claire lying between the Lakes Erie and Huron.—Would it not be reasonable for the British American states, as in a manner the political wards of Great-Britain and relying wholly on her for external protection, totally to incapacitate themselves for entering into any treaties or alliances with any foreign powers whatsoever?—Might it not be eligible to admit of and join in constituting a general continental congress, to which each state should send one delegate, and which should never assemble but on the summons of the British ambassador general? The business of this congress to be treaty not government, and only to deliberate on peace and war, and such other occasional matters

matters as might be of general concernment; in order to the facilitating and dispatch of general business, and easing the British ambassador general of the trouble of personally consulting with, or the inconvenience attending the entrusting such affairs to his deputy the *resident consul* in, each separate state.—For the ease and convenience of the respective states, they might permit subordinate courts of admiralty to be held by Great-Britain, under due restrictions, in such of their sea-port towns along the coast as might be convenient.—As it would be impossible to prevent an indiscriminate mixture of British and of British American seamen in the ships of either country: so it might be proper for the said states to consent that seamen for the royal navy should be raised promiscuously from amongst the mariners of both, according to the present customs of the service; but not however to suffer impressing by land.—Consistently with our rights of naval dominion as set forth in the above draught, and in order that it may answer the beneficial purposes proposed by the grand league and confederacy, we ought to insist that no sea-port, or other place along the sea-coasts, or the shores of the rivers or lakes, shall have any fortifications within the reach of cannon-shot from the shore. But in a case of necessity in time of war, it might be agreed in general congress that temporary batteries or other fortifications should be erected, provided they were put into the possession and under the command of the British flag.—*Quere*, Whether it might not be for the general peace and welfare of, and preserve the balance of power between, the several states, should it be agreed also in general congress, that no interior fortifications of any kind should ever be erected within any of them?—In order to prevent all suspicions to the prejudice of Great-Britain's equitable dealing with the confederated states and her faithful guardianship of them, she should not be entitled to make any extraordinary demand upon them for any *cautionary* or *preparatory* naval armament: but from the time when war was actually declared against any *maritime* power until the same should be concluded, they should contribute subsidies in such proportions to their ability as should be regulated in general congress, the whole bearing an established proportion to

the extraordinary naval expences of Great-Britain as originally settled in forming the Grand British League and Confederacy.—In case any two or more of the said states should, in contempt of the umpireship of Great-Britain and the interposition of the British ambassador-general, go to war or carry on hostilities one against the other, the admiral of North America and all other British naval commanders should have orders to make prize of all ships, vessels and merchandize, (all fishing shallops, boats and skiffs having *no decks*, together with their fish and fishing implements excepted) belonging to that state or those states which should be previously deemed and pronounced by the parliament of Great-Britain, in a Declaratory Act for that express purpose, to be the offending state or states; and the said naval commanders should continue to distress the trade of the same by sea to the utmost of their power, until the said state or states should be brought to reason; of which his Majesty in council should be the temporary judge, and have power to stay all farther prizals until parliament should, in another declaratory act, restore the said offending state or states, having made due satisfaction, to its or their former beneficiary situation as a party in the Grand British League and Confederacy.—And for the more effectually preserving the future balance of power between all the states of that immense continent, might it not be expedient that the limits and boundaries of each, which they should never hereafter pass, should be newly defined by the Grand British League and Confederacy; and some of their nominal interior boundaries now lying very far within the wilderness, be changed for others at a nearer distance?—For the same good purpose and other apparent good reasons, might not the remainder of the wilderness be partitioned out into certain determinate and limited tracts, according to soil and situation; each of which should be considered as the territory of some future state which in process of time might be therein erected. And I would propose that no interruption should be given to the growing of such new states (other than every government has a right to give by wholesome laws within itself to prevent as much as may be a spirit or practice of emigration;) but that until the settlers within any such partitioned

partitioned tract of the wilderness should be increased and multiplied to the number of fifty thousand souls, they should be considered as incapable of forming an independent political state, and be subject for the intermediate time to the government of Great-Britain. But as soon as their numbers should amount to fifty thousands souls as aforesaid, they should be entitled and free to erect themselves into an independent political state, and to constitute for their own government such a legislative power as they should judge most proper; provided only that they acknowledged the king of Great-Britain as their lawful sovereign, that they made the protestant faith the established religion of the country, and consented to become a party to the Grand British League and Confederacy.

During the short space of time indeed that remains of that winter's day to the evening of which we may hope to continue the despotic lords of North America, those immense divisions of country we have affected to make by our charters and by act of parliament on a late memorable occasion, may, like all other arbitrary compendiums, be *convenient to us*, so long as we determine to continue arbitrary rulers; or it might hereafter be favourable to the ambition of some one American state hungering to swallow up its neighbours, to have its territory like that of the ambitious Catherine reaching from the salt ocean to the fresh-water seas in midland, and thence to the salt ocean again quite across the vast continent; but in neither case would it be desirable or good for *the people of those countries*. Nations are most free and happy when their extremities are near enough to the vital seat of government to feel its pervading principle in its full warmth and activity, and by the spring of their own re-action to pour into the heart again full-flowing tides of health, life and vigour. On these principles I should wish to see the North American states aranged back to back like habitations in a well-built city, leaving those yet to rise into being to front the lakes and great rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi, as the present ones do the Atlantic sea. We have already enumerated in the foregoing draught for an act of parliament eighteen states already formed; and by such a division of the remaining country by the grand confederacy as we

have proposed, provision might be made for the future gradual and quiet establishment of nineteen more at least, all of ample extent, and every one having a very considerable frontier accessible to shipping and upon waters which are at this time navigated by the British navy. Thus each of these numerous states, by the same means that would enable it through commerce to become a respectable member of the grand British confederacy, would be effectually subject to the controul and influence of Great-Britain their common maritime protector and umpire, so necessary for preserving the harmony of the whole. According to this system no state adjoining to the two great rivers should possess the shores on both sides; as navigations of such magnitude and importance should be always boundaries and frontier. The reasons are obvious.

If we cast our eyes over an American map, and view attentively the singular distribution of land and water, and the directions of the two capital rivers; and if we then consider what hath already taken place in the establishment of a long range of narrow-fronted states along the sea-coast throughout its whole extent; we shall possibly be led to conclude that the plan we recommend is the plain suggestion of Providence, who from the first hath hitherto wrought according to it himself, and seems to have made its future observance and completion an obvious dictate of nature to all parties concerned, but most so to Great-Britain. In order to illustrate what I have said to this effect, let me just mention such alterations of boundaries and trace out such districts of future dominion as strike my own eye, and carry an appearance of equality and propriety well adapted to the nature of the supposed confederacy so far as they can be judged of by the map; this being sufficient for all present purposes; that is for those of explanation.

To begin then with Quebec, I should not content myself with reducing it to the same size as before its late enormous extension; but I would propose that it should be bounded to the N. E. at the river Saguenay, and to the S. W. by the river Atawas: it would then have a maritime frontier of two hundred miles. And making the lakes of St. John, St. Peter, Beauharnois, Abitibis and Temis-

Temiscaming its respective interior limits westward and northward, it would be about 360 miles in length. There would then be left a country of about equal surface, though with a larger frontier to the water, between Quebec and Labrador, which latter commences at the river St. John in the gulph of St. Lawrence, as one of those districts to be appointed as above-mentioned for the seat of a future nation. This country for the present by way of distinction may be called Tadousacaia [1], after the name of one of its ancient tribes of Indians. Montreal [2] might be the capital of another state which should extend from that city and the aforesaid river Atawas up the river St. Lawrence and Catarakui as far as Lake Ontario; the chain of streams and small lakes lying between Fort Frontenac and the east-end of Lake Huron being its limit to the S. W. Lake Huron itself from the little Lake Huron to French River its western confine; and Lake Nipissin together with River Atawas its boundary to the north. The ancient Huronia [3] having Montreal to the N. E. and for the rest completely incircled by the waters of the Ontario, the Oswego and Huron Lakes, is by nature formed into another territory. The next will extend along the whole north-shore of Lake Huron from French River to the falls of St. Mary, and bordering on Montreal and Quebec might retain the appellation of Canada [4]. The shores of Lake Superior will furnish ample frontier to four states more. The first, or Mensisipia [5], beginning at the aforesaid falls of St. Mary and terminating at the river which forms the discharge of Lake Alemipigon; the second, or Camanestigonia [6], at Long Lake which receives the overflowings of the Lake of the Woods; the third, or Missisagania [7], at the Bay of St. Charles; and the fourth, or Puania [8], will pass the strait and reach as far as the River Outagamis at the bottom of the Bay of Puans. The two latter will also have other navigable frontiers on the Mississippi; Missisagania being watered by that river from the rivulet of Ouabaugetan to the falls of St. Anthony,

- [1] Tadousacaia.
- [2] Montreal.
- [3] Huronia.
- [4] Canada.

- [5] Mensisipia.
- [6] Camanestigonia.
- [7] Missisagania.
- [8] Puania.

thony, and Puania from the said falls to the river Ouifconfin. Then again Mascoutenia [9] having the Mississippi to the S. W. from the River Ouifconfin to the Illinois river, might also have a maritime frontier from the bottom of the Bay of Puans above-mentioned to the River St. Joseph at the south-end of Lake Michigan; while Miamiſia [10] like Huronia would be washed by the waters of three lakes, Michigan, Huron and Erie as far as the river Miamis. The south shores of Lake Erie or Oswego, and as they incline N. E. until they reach Ochureni, might be allotted to Erieland [11]; from thence to Oswego Fort and Bay in Lake Ontario, to Senekania [12]; and Catarakua might take in the rest of the lake, all the river Catarakui [13] N. E. to La Prairie, then turning south again all Richlieu river and the west shore of Lake Champlain as far as Crown Point. The east shore of this lake and the said river Richlieu, together with the south-east shore of the St. Lawrence as far as Wolf River opposite the Saguenay, would belong to Champlania [14]; and the remainder of the river St. Lawrence together with the coast of the gulph as far as the river Ristigouchi in Miramichi Bay, (which I would also propose for the confine of Nova-Scotia) would give a very extensive maritime frontier to Gaspesia [15]. Again, we shall find still remaining upon the Mississippi below the river Illinois, which we made the southern boundary of Mascoutenia, sufficient frontier for three extensive territories: the first, or Wauwautania [16], reaching as far as the Ohio; and the other two, Chicafwria [17] and Chactawria [18] divided into equal districts, will bring us to the present boundary of West Florida lying in 31° of north latitude. And it might not be amiss perhaps to set apart the Province of Sagadahock from New England and make it an independent state.

From the point of confluence between the waters of the Great Miomee with those of the Ohio, as a center, might

[9] Mascoutenia.

[10] Miamiſia.

[11] Erieland.

[12] Senekania.

[13] Catarakua.

[14] Champlania.

[15] Gaspesia.

[16] Wauwautania.

[17] Chicafwria.

[18] Chactawria.

[19] Sagadahock.

might diverge several lines of interior separation, thus;— Suppose one line to run due south till it should intersect the northern limit of East Florida; this would divide all the lower nations on the Mississippi from Virginia and the southern colonies fronting the Atlantic. A second line from the same point north-west-ward to the junction of the two rivers Illinois and Theakiki called the Fork, would separate Wauwautania and Miamiia. A third in the direction of the courses of the Great Miomee and Miamis rivers, would divide Miamiia from Erieland. And a fourth being formed by the winding course of the Ohio itself as high as the site of the late fort called Du Quesne would separate Virginia and Pennsylvania from Erieland. Then a new division line might begin at the said site of fort Du Quesne, and leaving the Ohio to the westward, and passing along the Allegany Mountains, might take a pretty strait course to Lake George, and thence to the south end of Lake Champlain; thence again N. E. to the northern bend of the river St. John on the present confines of New England and Nova Scotia; forming the interior confine of all the northern colonies on the Atlantic to that point, as well as of the above-mentioned districts bordering on Lake Ontario, the Catarakui and St. Lawrence. Then a line from Ochureni to Du Quesne would part Erieland from Senekania. A line also from the Bay of Oswego on Lake Ontario that should intersect at the nearest point the grand division line running N. E. and S. W. would separate Senekania from Catarakua. And another line to come from Wolfe River which empties itself into the St. Lawrence opposite the river Saguenay to the termination of the last-mentioned one at the said bend of the river St. John, and thence falling into the river Ristigouchi which hath its discharge into the gulph at the Bay of Miramichi, would bound Gaspesia towards Nova Scotia, Sagadahock and Champlain, and complete the general sketch of our proposed divisions.—

Thus, as I have said before, to the eighteen states already enumerated, we might by a prudent foresight cause all future additions to the number to be so made as that none should be too large or too small, all having an ample surface and an extensive maritime frontier, and being thereby every

every way calculated for being hereafter joined with the rest of the free and independent states in the grand British confederacy. And thus, by acknowledging and guaranteeing to the colonies a *legislative independence*, provision would be made that the whole of the immense continent of North America, so far as it is yet known, should be all kept *with great ease and little expence* in a voluntary and therefore a sure *commercial dependence* upon Great-Britain. But if she persist in the folly or rather the insanity of thinking to effect the same end by making her own parliament the general fountain of legislative authority and government to such a swarm of far distant and hardy nations, I fear it is high time that she were let blood, severely purged, and kept for a while on low diet as the only cure of her unhappy distemper. I wish even those remedies may be in time to save her life.

EVEN

EVEN these rude deficient draughts of an Emancipating Act and Grand British League and Confederacy, and a new division of country, would, I should hope, when duly weighed by the candid and sincere friends of this country, be enough to convince them that we may grant *even more than the colonists ask at our hands*, and yet be in no danger of losing that influence (which is only another word for *sovereignty*, so far as it can be really beneficial to Great-Britain) over them, from which we have hitherto while in their infancy only derived such immense advantages. Those brave men who now shudder at the thoughts of imbruing their hands in the blood of *fellow-citizens* and *fellow-subjects* nobly contending for liberty, would not have a scruple of drawing their swords against *the subjects of a foreign* independent state which had been guilty of breaking through the solemn engagements of a treaty it had expressly bound itself to observe. But supposing the wisdom of parliament after mature deliberation to proceed upon these hints and on the same principles to frame a finished work, how noble a production it would appear! The colonists would hereby enjoy civil freedom and legislative independence to their hearts content; and yet remain in a state of absolute commercial dependence to this kingdom. But what commercial country is independent? Not Great-Britain herself. She is absolutely dependent, in a commercial sense, upon every country that favours her with a market. She is more particularly dependent upon her own colonies, as they contribute the most largely to the means of her preservation. Commerce in its very idea signifies a *voluntary* intercourse and exchange of commodities for the mutual benefit of the parties: and nothing can be more certain than that the sword and sceptre are *the worst of all instruments* for carrying it on to advantage, though necessary indeed for its guard and protection. Let us then no longer convert them into implements of mischief, nor degrade them into instruments of punishment, but apply them to their right use! Supposing we should be able to hold the colonies

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in subjection for half a century longer (which is not a supposition that many will grant me); they would always be discontented and factious, and consider their obedience as an act of mere political necessity. Thinking themselves injured, and therefore morally free from the obligation of complying any farther than they needs must, they would undoubtedly seize the first opportunity in some time of our weakness or embarrassment to revolt, and then of course, as of necessity, would become our enemies. Whereas, supposing them emancipated and to have entered into the proposed League and Confederacy, they would entertain no jealousy of our having designs against their liberties, they would have nothing to interrupt or disturb their domestic peace and industry, no temptation to quarrel with us, no power to hurt us: and the protective alliance and confederacy entered into with us being a voluntary, a beneficial, formal and solemn covenant on their part, they would feel all the consciousness of a moral obligation of the most binding nature to abide by and fulfil the conditions of them; and could not but view the breach of them as an act of guilt, baseness and ingratitude for which, as there would be no temptation, so there could be no excuse. In the latter case all good men, even amongst themselves, would be against them; in the former, they would be sure of their pity, their goodwill and secret aid, if not their open support and assistance, as we may behold at this day. How much these considerations are to be esteemed worthy of attention; and how powerful an influence full persuasions in the minds of men of right or of wrong have upon the affairs of civil society, I leave to every wise man and sound politician to determine.

Now, was it not that it might be artfully urged against me and resolved into that kind of enthusiasm which by hacknied courtiers and their base-minded train is with a sneer insinuated to be the sure mark of a true visionary and an indubitable proof that nothing sound and practical can come from such a person, I would here declare myself so thoroughly assured of the moral infallibility of the measures I have suggested for producing the effects proposed, that was I in rank or station so near the throne of the best of
princes

princes as to be entitled to make him a personal offer of my council, I would stand forth alone if there were none to join me, to propose and recommend them in the most earnest manner ; content, should they be found to fail or even to fall short of what I foretold, to be branded as a traitor, and to be publicly proscribed as a curse to my country with a price set upon my head, so that " every man's hand should be against me."

THE END.

ERRATA.

DEDICATION.

Page 3—line 25, for *induces*, read *endues*.

9	17,	<i>guides</i> . Under— <i>guides</i> ; under
9	21,	<i>humility</i> . In— <i>humility</i> ; in
10	32,	<i>Epicurus's</i> — <i>Epicurus'</i>
13	23,	<i>foolish</i> — <i>selfish</i>

PREFACE.

Page 1—line 9, for *whatsoever*, except rd. *whatsoever*. *Except*
 11, after *America* a comma
 12, after *party* a semicolon

FIRST PART.

Page 15—line 5, for *will have*, read *affect to call*.

16	11,	at the period after the word <i>principles</i> should stand the † and not at the period in line 13.
20	30,	for <i>conceal</i> ,— <i>cancel</i> .
23	43,	and last, the word <i>men</i> should be printed with a capital M.
28	5,	<i>in frail</i> ,— <i>in the frail</i> .
35	17,	<i>forbid</i> — <i>forbad</i>
36	13,	<i>to be although</i> — <i>to be</i> . <i>Although</i>
38	22,	<i>no credit</i> — <i>no established name for veracity</i> .
39	29,	<i>internal</i> — <i>eternal</i>
46	33,	<i>tract</i> — <i>tracts</i>
47	33,	<i>the</i> — <i>their</i>
50	10,	<i>carried upon</i> — <i>carried on upon</i> .
56	14,	<i>retained</i> — <i>retain</i>
57		Change the notes thus ;—to the first pre- fix the †; to the second, the ‡; and to the third, the *.

